

THIRTIETH CONGRESS

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CONGRESSMAN

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Abraham Lincoln's Political Career through 1860

Thirtieth Congress

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

From the files of the
Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection

A Humorous Speech.—In the House of Representatives, on the 27th, Mr. Lincoln made the 'crack speech' of the day. He is a very able, acute, uncouth, honest, upright man, and a tremendous wag withal!

After answering all the objections raised against Gen. Taylor, he turned his battery upon Gen. Cass and the Baltimore Platform. After showing that Gen. Cass and his supporters had a curious set of principles, varying with the breeze to suit contingencies, wearing one shade at the North and another at the South, he turned his attention to Mr. Iverson, who had said, in his speech the other day, that the Whigs had turned out Henry Clay like an old broken down horse to root! He asked if the gentleman's party had turned out no old horse? Had they not turned out Martin Van Buren to root! And was not that old horse rooting in a manner that made them uneasy and uncomfortable.

He said the friends of Clay were attempting to sneer at the Whigs for nominating a Military Chieftain for their candidate, and yet these very innocents were striving with all their might to make it out that Gen. Cass was a military hero who had broken his sword, marched into Canada, and all that; and who now had on the ticket with him another military man! The Cass men had two military chieftains for candidates where the Whigs had one, and yet they presumed to rebuke the Whigs for going after a military hero!

~~He reviewed Gen. Cass's military exploits. He said that the General did march into Canada, when nobody opposed him, and he marched out again in the same way. As to his breaking his sword, history was not very clear upon the subject, except as the Louisville Journal well says, if he did break it, he did not do anything else with it!~~

Mr. Lincoln said he was himself something of a military hero; he was out in the Black Hawk War, and was just about as near a fight as Gen. Cass ever was. He broke no sword, for he had none, he was sorry to say, to break—he had a musket!

He alluded to and ridiculed Gen. Cass's extra charges, and his great faculty of doing a vast amount of business at the same time, in three different places, and *receiving pay and rations for the whole!*—He referred to the fable of the ass between two sacks of hay, unable to eat either. It would not be so with Gen. Cass, for he would manage to eat both of them up at once.

Mr. Lincoln's manner was so good-natured, and his style so peculiar, that he kept the house in a continuous roar of merriment, for the last half hour of his speech.

He would commence a point in his speech far up one of the aisles, and keep on talking, gesticulating and walking, until he would find himself at the end of a paragraph down in the centre of the area in front of the clerk's desk. He would then go back, take another *head*, and *work down* again. And so on, through his capital speech.

The Locotocos are exceedingly sensitive whenever a question is started as to whether General Cass really broke his sword at Hull's surrender. He may have broken it for aught we know. It is proved beyond all dispute that Gov. M^rArthur broke *his* sword upon the occasion, and Mr. Robert Wallace, of Kenton county, Ky., a prominent locotoco, has given written testimony that he saw Lieut. Anderson break *his*, and it is certainly possible that Col. Cass snapped his short off in imitation of his betters.—What a prodigious consumption of cutlery there must have been.

We cannot boast in old Rough's behalf, that he ever broke his sword at a surrender, for "General Taylor never surrenders." He has, many a time and oft, thrashed it over the heads of his county's enemies far more violently than Gen. Cass thrashed his over the stump, but, as good luck would have it, the heads were always broken instead of the sword.—*Low Jour*

Correspondence of the State Register.

CHICAGO, June 9, 1849.

Business for the past week has manifested some improvement, and produce by teams arrives more freely. The market continues firm, with a fair demand for breadstuffs.

Wheat—Winter, 70 to 75; spring, 60 to 65.

Corn—shelled, 38 to 41c; in the ear, 28 to 30c., with a good demand. Sales of two lots at 40c., and reported sales of one lot at 41c.

Flour—demand small, though prices continue firm. City brands \$4 50 to \$4 62½; country brands, \$3 60 to \$4. No sales reported this week.

Oats—good demand, supply rather limited. On board 22 to 23c.—street 22c.; retail 25 to 28c.—No sales reported this week.

Salt—\$1 18 to \$1 25. Large lots arriving,—demand not large. No sales reported.

Freights—freights are a shade lower this week than last. Wheat to Buffalo by steamer 4 to 4½c. Flour 23 to 25c.; provisions, 35 to 37½c. The propeller California loaded at 4c. for wheat to Buffalo, being the largest price offered. The consequence of these low rates is, that many vessels are laid up.

Canal—Business on the canal has manifested no decided improvement, and but little produce arriving by this route. The following table exhibits our abstract of articles cleared from this port by canal, for the Illinois river and St. Louis, for the month ending May 31:

Abstract of articles cleared at the Collector's office at Chicago, on the Illinois and Michigan Canal, during the month of May, 1849.

Passengers,	4,663	Furniture, lbs.,	225,083
Lath,	927,000	Leather, lbs.,	27,613
Lumber, feet,	2,504,060	Spirits, bbls.,	74
Shingles, M.,	3,0005	Whisky,	31
Staves, M.,	3 000	Coals, tons,	50
Timber, feet,	3,112,000	Dry Hides, lbs.,	386,675
Wood, cord,	838	Iron and Steel, lbs.,	46,006
Hides, lbs.,	9,198	Lime, bbls.,	1,146
Pork, bbls.,	902	Nails, lbs.,	4,418
Wool, lbs.,	13,346	Powder, lbs.,	38,375
Corn, bush.,	4,779	Salt, bbls.,	3,557
Fruit, lbs.,	5,194	Stone, cords,	91
Flour, lbs.,	621	Sugar, lbs.,	30,842
Hops, lbs.,	695	Fish, bbls,	131
Potatoes, bush.,	103	Wagons,	17
Wheat, do	6,375	Castings, lbs.,	4,255
Miners' work, lbs.,	31,976	Posts,	832

Mr. Snowhook, the collector of customs for the port of Chicago, was, as you are aware, ousted sometime since, and Mr. Jacob Russell appointed in his place. Mr. Russell entered upon the duties of his office yesterday.

Reed's new boat, the "Key Stone State," arrived from Buffalo yesterday, making the trip in the extraordinary short time of three days and sixteen hours. This entitles her to the name of the fastest boat on the Lakes.

RED JACKET.

*the State Register
June 14 1849*

Mr. T. U. Webb writes from Philadelphia to know if we are sure that Mr. Lincoln's name is Abraham and not Abram. We answer, that the Chicago Press and Tribune has stated as much on Mr. Lincoln's express authority; and now we have the Illinois State Journal, published at Springfield, which says that the name Abram does not belong to Mr. Lincoln.—N. Y. Tribune.

The troubles of the Republicans over the name of their candidate, have been really distressing to witness. Not a day has passed since the nomination of the unavailable Lincoln, without the occurrence of some unhappy complication connected with his christian name. So long as our Republican neighbors have stuck to "old Abe" they have got along well enough; but once forsaking that plain appellation they have instantly become entangled in a "ham-ram" labyrinth. "It is ham," has shouted one. "It is ram," has responded another. The "hams" have grown heated, and the "rams" have been rampant, until a pitched battle between the "rams" and the "hams" has appeared unavoidable. By the above official announcement—to which in charity we give publicity—it appears that the question is now decided and that the "rams" are overthrown. But although the Republicans may succeed in preserving their candidates "ham," they will find it a difficult matter to "save his bacon."

From Momus.

"WILLIE, WE HAVE MISSED YOU."

[Supposed to be addressed to Wm. H. Seward, by a fellow citizen of Auburn.]

O Willie, is it you, dear,
Safe, safe at home?
And did you hear the news, dear,
Away at Washington?
We heard that you'd be here,
And it made our heart rejoice,
For we thought you'd be the nominee,
The party's only choice.
But it seems we all were out:
Your name they did refuse;
O Willie, you have missed it!
Alas, the doleful news!

We've longed to see you running
For President this fall;
We thought no earthly cunning
Could drive you to the wall.
We waited for each ballot
The telegraph did send,
Till we feared the worst was coming—
That your chance was at an end.
But, until the game was up,
Still our hopes we did amuse.
O Willie, you have missed it!
Alas, the doleful news!

Our hopes were never-failing,
Our faith was bright and clear;
Now all is changed to wailing
For thee, my Willie dear!
Late night I sat and wept
Till the coming of the day;
For no patronage is left
That you now can give away,
For Lincoln (if elected)
Will give as he may choose.
O Willie, you have missed it!
Alas, the doleful news!

Lincoln's Record in Congress.

We have before us the *Congressional Globe*, containing the debate of the second session of the Thirteenth Congress. It is a history of the congressional career of the Republican candidate for President. It is the measure of his ability; and it classifies him with the "small people" who occasionally attain the place by accident, and who signalize their utter lack of mental ability, by sitting through the term in silence and inaction. Such men are not elected a second time, and accordingly Mr. Lincoln was left at home. But here is his record, fully and faithfully given: *ALBANY* 6-5

Page 16. Mr. Lincoln took his seat, Dec. 7, 1848. Page 111. He called for a division of the question! Page 176. He asked if his vote was recorded in the negative? The Clerk said it was. Honest Abe said "that is right!" Page 188. "Mr. Lincoln presented a bill in relation to school lands which have or may be relinquished." Page 212. He presented a bill of six sections, one of which provides a FUGITIVE LAW—an "efficient" one for the District of Columbia. Page 244. Mr. Lincoln gave notice of a bill to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, by consent of the free white people, and with compensation to the owners. Page 416. Lincoln rose to inquire if he might ask a question? Being told that he could not, he sat down without asking it. Page 559. On leave he presented certain resolutions adopted by the Illinois Legislature. Page 614. Mr. Lincoln moved the previous question! *ALBANY* 6-5

That is the whole of it. We have made no omission. He originated no measures, save the fugitive nigger bill referred to: made no speech; and, in one word demonstrated his utter lack of all the qualities of a statesman. Having said and done nothing worthy of remembrance, it was forgotten by the public that he had ever been a member.

What a contrast with Clay or Webster, Douglas or Buchanan, Seward or Chase! Is such a man fit for President?—*Logan Co. (O.)* *Albany*

Serious apprehensions are entertained in the Republican party that another conspiracy is going on in its ranks, with the arch-plotter, Greeley, at its bottom. The Bridgeport, Conn., Farmer of last Tuesday says, "Horace Greeley passed through here this morning in disguise, having on a black hat and pepper-and-salt overcoat—both new; his most intimate friends had difficulty in recognizing him." "A black hat"—how symbolical of the radicalism into which he has plunged his party by springing the Lincoln trap upon them. "Pepper-and-salt overcoat"—how significant at once of the "peppering" he has recently given Mr. Seward, and of the "pickle" into which he has thrown the whole party.

WERE WITH LINCOLN

When He Was in Congress Nearly a Half a Century Ago.

AN ANNIVERSARY OF INTEREST

Men of Note Who Were Colleagues of the War President.

IN THE OLD HALL

Within a few days it will be forty-eight years since President Lincoln entered upon his duties as a Representative from Illinois. He then met many who, fourteen years later, were engaged on the side of the Union or against it. Dr. S. C. Hays, in his recent interesting volume of recollections, notes that Mr. Lincoln roomed at the house of Mrs. Sprague, on 1st street east, now included in the library site, which with the other houses known as Carroll row was the Carroll prison during the war. Mrs. Sprague, Dr. Hays and others, arrested in connection with the assassination conspiracy, were imprisoned there for a time.

It is also somewhat remarkable that not only were many in Congress at that time who, since, were noted in the making of history on one side or the other, but they were in many instances neighbors. The session of Congress was quite a long one, extending from the first Monday in December to the middle of August, and it was as interesting as lengthy. The consideration of the conduct of the Mexican war, which was ended by treaty in February, 1848, and which had been opposed as having been unconstitutional, became, occupied much of the time. Mr. Polk was at the time President, with Mr. Dallas Vice President. Mr. Buchanan, afterward President, was Secretary of State, and General Welles, Lincoln's Secretary of the Navy, was then chief of the bureau of provisions and clothing, Navy Department.

In the Senate was the confederate president, Jeff Davis, who had made a brilliant record in the Mexican war after his service in the House, and who subsequently was President Pierce's Secretary of War. He then boarded with Mrs. Cowen, on the 11th. There was, especially in the Senate, much presidential timber, past, present and future. The lone star state (Texas), whose flag was at the time as poor as the stars and stripes, was represented in the Senate by Mr. Rust, J. J. Crittenden was one of the Senators from Kentucky; W. L. Dayton from New Jersey was the republican candidate for Vice President in 1860.

Well-known Names.

Mr. Mangum of North Carolina had been voted for as the candidate for President in the whig convention of 1857. Senator Douglas, Lincoln's opponent in Illinois, and who was also one of his opponents in 1860, was in the Senate. In this body was also Simon Cameron, who became Secretary of War under Mr. Lincoln. John A. Dix, Secretary of the Treasury under Buchanan, became a prominent Union major. Gen. Tom C. Smith, Secretary of the Treasury under Mr. Fillmore, was sent as minister to Mexico by Mr. Lincoln in 1861.

J. M. Berrien of Georgia, had served as Attorney General under Gen. Jackson, from 1829 till 1841. Beverly Johnson of Maryland was Attorney General under Taylor, a delegate to the peace congress in 1861, and served in the Senate from 1843 to 1853. Lewis Cass, who, under Van Buren, was minister to France, was the following year the candidate on the democratic ticket against Gen. Taylor, and was Secretary of State under Buchanan.

Daniel Webster had served as Secretary of State under Tyler. John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, who had been Secretary of War under Monroe, Vice President in the Quincy Adams administration, and Secre-

tary of State under Tyler, was then a senator. R. M. T. Hunter of Virginia had just commenced his career as Senator, which ran into the war and terminated in his expulsion in July, 1861, he in the meantime, according to the portfolio of secretary of state under the confederacy, H. S. Foote (Mr. Davis' colleague afterward served in the confederate congress). J. M. Mason of Virginia, expelled in 1843, was with Mr. Shields, a confederate commissioner to Russia. John P. Hale, who was the free soil candidate for the vice presidency in 1852, served till 1855, and was then appointed minister to Spain. John Bell of Tennessee, who was in the House from 1847 to 1851, the same year commenced his senatorial career, and was on the Union ticket for the presidency in 1860. A. P. Butler was Mr. Calhoun's colleague. Thos. H. Benton was then a veteran in the Senate.

Where Jeff Davis Sat.

The Senate chamber was the room now occupied by the Supreme Court, on the east side of the old building, and the chair was at the center of the present bench. There were fifty-six desks arranged in four semi-circles, and Mr. Davis occupied No. 24 (the extreme right of the chair on the outer row, in the northeast corner of the chamber) while his colleague, Mr. Foote, had his seat in the second row near the main aisle. Mr. Davis had as his neighbors the seceding democrats Wm. Allen of Ohio, Senators Mason and Hunter of Virginia, who were associated with him in the confederacy, and Mr. Benton and Gen. Dix were on the same row. As the venerable Capt. Bassett will not point out the desk in the present Senate chamber occupied by Mr. Davis, the curious may at least view the spot where he commenced his senatorial career.

The House was then in what is now Sutter's Hall, and there were 244 desks arranged in six semi-circles facing the Speaker, who sat, as now, on the south side facing it, while aside. Among others who served with Mr. Lincoln were Amos Tuck of New Hampshire, who was a member of the peace congress; Jacob Collamer, Postmaster General under the Taylor administration and Senator from 51 to '61; Geo. F. Marsh of Vermont, minister to Turkey under Taylor and to Italy under Lincoln; John Quincy Adams, ex-President, who died at his post in the House in February following; Eliakin Sherrell of New York, who was killed at Gettysburg; John A. Rockwell of New York, who practiced law here for some years and died in 1861; Nathan K. Hall, who had been Mr. Fillmore's student and partner and was his Postmaster General.

Washington Hunt of New York, who declined a nomination for the vice presidency in 1860; L. C. Levin of Pennsylvania, the reputed founder of the native American party in 1845; A. R. McIlvaine, one of Mr. Lincoln's fellow boarders at Mrs. Sprague's, with Gay, Pollock delegate to the peace congress and director of the mint in '60; and John Strong, the late Wm. Strong, afterward Justice of the United States Supreme Court; Jasper P. Brady, who was for many years subsequent of the paymaster general's office; Gen. John G. Chapman of Maryland, who presided at the whig convention of '56.

J. W. Crisfield of Maryland, who was in the peace congress with J. Dixon Roman; Robert M. McLane, minister to China under Pierce, to Mexico under Buchanan, and France under Cleveland; Thos. S. Biscoe of Virginia, who served till '61 (once as Speaker) and also in the confederate congress; John Minor Botts, the well-known unionist; T. S. Flournoy, killed in battle in '61; Wm. B. Preston, who was in the confederate congress; Thos. L. Clingman of North Carolina, who was expelled from the United States Senate in '61 and was a confederate congressman, and A. W. Venable of North Carolina, who also was in the confederate congress.

Some State Delegations.

South Carolina was represented in part by R. B. Thelt, who was well known in Georgetown, where he lived when in Congress. Georgia had in her delegation A. R. Stephens, who served the confederacy as vice president; Howell Cobb, who was once Speaker, Secretary of the Treasury under Buchanan, and became prominent in the confederacy as a brigadier general and member of Congress, and who subsequently died in New York; Albert Iverson, who withdrew from the Senate and joined the rebellion; Thos. B. King, who was a confederate commissioner to Europe, and Rob-

ert Toombs, who was afterward a brigadier general and secretary of state of the confederacy. Among the Representatives from Alabama were W. R. W. Cobb, who became a member of the confederate congress, from which he was expelled for disloyalty; H. W. Hilliard, who under the Tyler administration was minister to Belgium.

Mississippi had in her delegation Albert G. Brown, who entered the House in '49, and was one of the expelled Senators who served in the confederacy; W. S. Featherston, who subsequently was a brigadier general in the confederate army, then roomed at Hill's afterward the old Capitol prison. Jacob Thompson also roomed at Hill's. He served in the House from '53 to '54, declined a reappointment, was Secretary of the Interior from '57 to January, '61, and served as governor of his state and in the confederate army, and Patrick Tompkins was a fellow boarder of Mr. Lincoln at Mrs. Sprague's.

In the Tennessee contingent was Andrew Johnson, who, having served in Congress a long series of years, became President on the death of Mr. Lincoln. He boarded at Mrs. Bullard's on C street near Delaware avenue, Wm. Harris, who during the war was arrested for disloyalty to the Union, but was released by order of Mr. Lincoln; M. P. Gentry, who served several terms in the U. S. House of Representatives and in the confederate congress; Geo. W. Jones, who was in the peace congress; P. P. Stanton, who lived here many years before going to Tennessee, was a member of the House ten years, governor of Kansas, and was a member of the District bar for a long time. His brother, R. H. Stanton of Kentucky, paired him in the House in '51.

Green Adams, who was appointed sixth auditor by Mr. Lincoln, was in the Kentucky delegation. The Ohio delegation had its number: J. R. Giddings, another of Mr. Lincoln's fellow boarders at Mrs. Sprague's, who was over twenty years in the House, a leader in the anti-slavery movement, and during the war was consul general to British North America; R. C. Schenck, who was a major general, United States volunteers, and minister to England in '50; John L. Taylor, who died here in the seventies, a clerk in the Interior Department; Samuel P. Vinton, the father of Mrs. Admiral Mahgren, who served his constituents over twenty years, and lived here some years, dying in '92.

From Lincoln's State.

Indiana was in part represented by Caleb E. Smith, who then lived on the north side of F between 6th and 7th streets northwest. He was on the Mexican claims commission and was Mr. Lincoln's Secretary of the Interior. R. W. Thompson, who presided over the Navy Department under President Hayes, and John A. McClelland, who, like his colleague, Mr. Lincoln, had served in the Black Hawk war, was then in the House and was a prominent brigadier general on the Union side in the war.

Thos. J. Turner, who had made his way up from humble life, like Mr. Lincoln, having worked as a laborer on a canal, sat next to Justice Strong, not far from the well-known "Long John" Wentworth, one of the early settlers of Chicago. Missouri had on the floor J. B. Bowlin, who, under President Pierce, was minister to Grenada, and under Mr. Buchanan filled the like position in Paraguay. Jas. S. Green, who was charged of affairs to Russia in '53 and Senator in '56, William F. Hall, who was acting governor in '61 and '62, and John S. Phelps, who was a colonel on the federal side and military governor of the state during the war.

Arkansas was represented by R. W. Johnson, who went to the Senate and in the war was on the southern side, Robert McChesney, who belonged to the Michigan delegation, became governor in '52, and the following year was made Secretary of the Interior by President Pierce; K. P. Bingham was governor in '54-6, and elected to the Senate in '56, but died in '60. Wm. Thompson, who represented Iowa, went in the Union service early in the war, was captain, major and colonel of the first Iowa cavalry, and was appointed a captain of cavalry in the regular army.

Mr. Lincoln was not one of the fortunate ones in the drawing for seats and became one of the wall flowers on the outer row, his desk being near the center of the left or west half of the semi-circle, but when he became interested in the proceedings of the House he would move down toward the front. He was on the post office and roads committee, and it is said as fond of telling stories and cracking jokes then

1845

Busey, Samuel Clagett Busey. *Personal Reminiscences and Recollections of Forty-Six Years' Membership Medical Society of the District of Columbia, Residence in this City, DC: Washington, 1895, pp. 25-28*

... I took the office on A Street, S. E., now included in the eastern park of the Capitol, vacated by Dr. Francis M. Gunnell, who had a week before passed the Medical Examining Board for the Navy, at the head of the list, and took my meals at a boarding-house kept by Mrs. Sprigg, occupying a seat at the table nearly opposite Abraham Lincoln, whom I soon learned to know and admire for his simple and unostentatious manners, kind-heartedness, and amusing jokes, anecdotes, and witticisms. When about to tell an anecdote during a meal he would lay down his knife and fork, place his elbows upon the table, rest his face between his hands, and begin with the words "that reminds me," and proceed. Everybody prepared for the explosions sure to follow. I recall with vivid pleasure the scene of merriment at the dinner after his first speech in the House of Representatives, occasioned by the descriptions, by himself and others of the Congressional mess, of the uproar in the House during its delivery.

I had not attached any importance, and had rarely referred to the fact of having boarded in the same house with Mr. Lincoln until I read a statement in one of the daily papers to the effect that a diligent search made by the Memorial Association of the District of Columbia had failed to locate the house in which he had resided during his service in Congress; and, more recently, having declined an invitation to make an address at the memorial meeting, held April 14, 1894, the twenty-ninth anniversary of his death, in which I was requested to set forth such facts, circumstances, and reminiscences of Congressman Lincoln as I might recall, it has seemed not only eminently proper, but incumbent upon me to comply so far with that request as to record in some permanent form the brief details of that association.

The house was the fourth of a row of houses known as "Carroll Row," situated on the east side of First Street, E., between A Street, S., and East Capitol Street, the south house of the row being at the corner of First and A Streets, S. The location is now better known as the west front of one of the squares (729) upon which the new Library building is being built. The corner house was occupied by Gen. Duff Green and family, who took their meals at the Sprigg boarding-house, the next by William I. McCormick and family, and the third by John H. Houston and family. The two houses north of the Sprigg house were boarding-houses, then a stonecutter's yard, and the three-story brick house at the corner of First Street, E., and East Capitol Street, with a shop on the ground floor and dwelling above occupied by the stonecutter, completed the west front of the square.

There was a large number of boarders at the Sprigg house, among whom may be named, besides Mr. Lincoln, Messrs. McIlvaine, Dick, Blanchard, and Pollock, members of the House of Representatives from Pennsylvania, and Thompkins, M. C., from Mississippi, the Green family, Nathan Sargent—better known as "Oliver Oldschool"—Edmund French, a private citizen, and myself. All the members of the House of Representatives were Whigs. The Wilmot Proviso was the topic of frequent conversation and the occasion of very many angry controversies. Dick, who represented the Lancaster district in Pennsylvania, afterward represented by Thaddeus Stevens, was a very offensive man in manner and conversation, and seemed to take special pleasure in ventilating his opinions and provoking unpleasant discussions with the Democrats and some of the Whigs, especially Thompkins, who held adverse opinions on the Wilmot Proviso. Nathan Sargent was also a radical, but was so interested in the success of the Whigs and the election of Zachary Taylor that he restrained himself and followed Mr. Lincoln, who may have been as radical as either of these gentlemen, but was so discreet in giving expression to his convictions on the slavery question as to avoid giving offence to anybody, and was so conciliatory as to create the impression, even among the proslavery advocates, that he did not wish to introduce or discuss subjects that would provoke a controversy. When such conversation would threaten angry or even unpleasant contention he would interrupt it by interposing some anecdote, thus diverting it into a hearty and general laugh, and so completely disarrange the tenor of the discussion that the parties engaged would

either separate in good humor or continue conversation free from discord. This amicable disposition made him very popular with the household.

FIRST SPEECH IN CONGRESS.

General McClelland Tells of Lincoln's Introduction in the House—Interview with Union Congressman from the South—Tribute of Former Opponent.

I became acquainted with Mr. Lincoln in 1836 at Vandalia, then the capital of Illinois. A measure was pending in the Legislature, contemplating the removal of the capital from Vandalia to Springfield, and during the contest over the measure I often met him. I found him earnest in the advocacy of the removal of the capital. I saw that he was a man of keen perception and clear ideas. In the session of 1841-'42 I was in the Legislature when he was reelected from the Springfield district. We met frequently during the session. It was at a time when the Democratic majority was pushing measures to wind up the old State Bank. I recall that, while the Democrats had a working majority, they were anxious over the result of the final vote. I was the leader of the Democratic majority and Lincoln was practically the leader of the Whigs. When it came to vote on the bill the Whigs attempted to defeat it by breaking the quorum. Mr. Lincoln crawled through a window and got out of the hall, and I well remember the great laugh his act caused, as his tall form disappeared from view. We shouted after him the old saying: "He who fights and runs away," etc. The Democrats finally succeeded in passing the bill.

When Mr. Lincoln was elected to Congress he and I went to Washington together. I heard his first speech in Congress. He was earnest and spoke with greater rapidity than I ever had heard him speak before. I attributed it to the fact that he had only an hour allotted him and wanted to say as much as possible in that time. His deficiency in gesticulation was fully made up by the deep earnestness of his manner.

After Mr. Lincoln was inaugurated President I had frequent conversations with him on the situation. He thought at first we would escape war. I told him he was wrong, as I knew the feeling of Southern Congressmen in Washington was for a separate republic. I had been in Washington the preceding session and I realized the feeling of the South better than Mr. Lincoln did. I told him of an interview I had had with President Buchanan at a time when there was a rumor of an advance of a military force from Virginia and Maryland to seize the Capitol, during which I had urged Buchanan to take steps to preserve Washington from capture.

I recall distinctly an interview I had with Mr. Lincoln in company with a Congressman from Louisiana. This Congressman was in favor of maintaining the Union, but he was frightened by the talk of the forcible abolition of slavery. In reply to a question regarding Mr. Lincoln's position on slavery, the President stretched forth his arms and said with deep solemnity: "All I want the South to do is to obey the constitution and the laws." He said this with extreme earnestness, and the Southerner was impressed deeply.

H. C. McCLELLAND.

Chicago Tribune
2/12/1900

Lincoln Eminently Fair.

Gen. Taylor was triumphantly elected, and it became Lincoln's duty, as whig member of congress from Illinois, to recommend certain persons to fill government offices in that state, says Helen Nicolay in St. Nicholas. He did this after he returned to Springfield, for his term in congress ended on March 4, 1849, the day that Gen. Taylor became president. The letters that he sent to Washington when forwarding the papers and applications of people who wished appointment were both characteristic and amusing; for in his desire not to mislead or to do injustice to any man, they were very apt to say more in favor of the men he did not wish to see appointed than in recommendation of his own particular candidates.

This absolute and impartial fairness to friend and foe alike was one of his strongest traits, governing every action of his life. If it had not been for this, he might possibly have enjoyed another term in congress, for there had been talk of reelecting him. In spite of his confession to Speed that 'being elected to congress, though I

am very grateful to our friends for having done it, has not pleased me as much as I expected," this must have been flattering. But there were many able young men in Springfield who coveted the honor, and they had entered into an agreement among themselves that each would be content with a single term. Lincoln, of course, remained faithful to this promise. His strict keeping of promises caused him also to lose an appointment from President Taylor as commissioner of the general land office, which might easily have been his, but for which he had agreed to recommend some other Illinois man. A few weeks later the president offered to make him governor of the new territory of Oregon. This attracted him much more than the other office had done, but he declined because his wife was unwilling to live in a place so far away.

His career in congress proved of great advantage to him in after life, having given him a close knowledge of the workings of the federal government, and brought him into contact with political leaders from all parts of the union.

1807

Figure Cut in Congress.

Speaking of Lincoln in congress, Morgan's "Lincoln, the Boy and the Man," from which we quote, with the Macmillan company's permission, says: Lincoln was 38 when he took his seat in congress and entered upon another grade in the universlty of life. 1565

The time was well chosen for him. The eloquence of Webster still contended with the philosophy of Calhoun for the mastery of a senate. In which sat many other noted men, among them Benton and Cass, Tom Corwin, Sam Houston in his NavaJo blanket, Jefferson Davis and Simon Cameron, Hannibal Hamlin, and John A. Dix. Stephen A. Douglas received his promotion to the upper chamber the day Lincoln entered the low.

Robert C. Winthrop was the speaker of the house, and under him sat Alexander H. Stephens, Robert Toombs, Collamer of Vermont, and Andrew Johnson. Horace Greeley was added to the membership by a special election. Above all, the name of John Quincy Adams still illuminated the roster of the house, and it was while Lincoln was a member that the "old man eloquent" fell, mortally stricken at his post of duty in the hall of representatives, worn out by a life of service to the republic.

The new congressman from Illinois was to-

tally unknown to his fellow members. As the only Whig from his state, however, he received a special welcome from his party associates, and this, with his natural gift of winning men, soon marked him out from the crowd. He attracted the favor of Daniel Webster and was a guest at several of the great expounder's Saturday breakfasts. He needed only to tell his first story in the lounging room at the capitol to gain attention there, and within a few weeks he was the recognized champion of the storytellers of congress.

The congressional library and the library of the Supreme court, with their great stores of books, were like a gold mine in his eyes. More than once the attendants were amused to see him tie up a lot of books in his bandanna handkerchief, stick his cane through the knot, and go forth to his boarding house with the bundle over his shoulder, just as in other days he had carried his wardrobe while tramping from job to job.

Fortune never served Lincoln better than when, at the end of his two years in congress, she led his steps up the old stairway to the bare and dingy law office of Lincoln & Herndon in the back room of a two story brick building on the square in Springfield.

Lincoln as Congressman.

Elihu B. Washburne, our late minister to France, in an article entitled "Abraham Lincoln in Illinois," published in the North American Review for October, thus speaks of the martyred president, at the period of his election to Congress.

"Mr. Lincoln took his seat in Congress on the first Monday in December, 1847. He sat in the old hall of the House of Representatives, and for the long session was so unfortunate as to draw one of the most undesirable seats in the hall. He participated but little in the active business of the House, and made the personal acquaintance of but few members. He was attentive and conscientious in the discharge of his duties, and followed the course of legislation closely. When he took his seat in the House, the campaign of 1848 for President was just opening.

"I was again in Washington part of the winter of 1849 (after the election of General Taylor) and saw much of Mr. Lincoln. A small number of mutual friends—including Mr. Lincoln—made up a party to attend the inaugural ball together. It was by far the most brilliant inauguration ball ever given. Of course Mr. Lincoln had never seen anything of the kind before. One of the most modest and unpretending persons present, he could not have dreamed that like honors were to come to him almost within a little more than a decade. He was greatly interested in all that was to be seen, and we did not take our departure until three or four o'clock in the morning. When we went to the cloak room, Mr. Lincoln had no trouble in finding his short coat while after a long search he was unable to find his hat. After an hour he gave up all idea of finding it. Taking his coat on his arm he walked into Judiciary Square deliberately adjusting it on his shoulders and started off bareheaded for his lodgings. It would be hard to forget the sight of that tall and slim man, with his short cloak thrown over his shoulders, without any hat on, starting for his long walk home on capital hill at four o'clock in the morning. And this incident is akin to one related to me by the librarian of the Supreme Court of the U. S. Mr. Lincoln came to the library one day for the purpose of procuring law books which he wanted to take to his room for examination. Getting together all the books he wanted, he placed them in a pile on a table. Taking a large bandana handkerchief from his pocket, he tied them up; and putting a stick which he had brought with him, through a knot he had made in the handkerchief, adjusting the package of books to his stick, he shouldered it and marched off from the library to his room. In a few days he returned the books in the same way.—Oct. 14, 1885.

AS A MEMBER OF CONGRESS



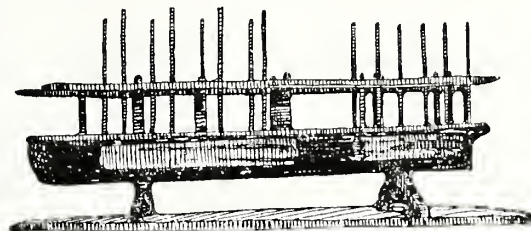
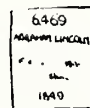
IN the Lower House of Congress Lincoln made but little impression, while Stephen A. Douglas, his greatest rival for thirty years, won high opinions in the Senate. Lincoln made some valuable acquaintances, among whom was Daniel Webster, and acquired a reputation as a story-teller and a jovial fellow to meet. He had given his first expression upon slavery about fifteen years before, in the Assembly at Vandalia, in what is known as "the Lincoln-Stone Protest," in which he and only one other member declared that "slavery is founded on injustice and bad policy." While in Congress Lincoln was greatly exercised because slaves were herded together and sold in a "negro livery stable" under the very shadow of the Capitol. He formulated and reported a bill for abolishing the traffic in human beings in the District of Columbia, but the bill never came to a vote. He also made a speech offering what came to be known as the "Spot Resolutions," because they took President Polk to task for needlessly, as he thought, precipitating the war with Mexico.

Before Lincoln returned home to stay he made a visit to New England, speaking in the interests of Zachary Taylor. He had always been a great admirer of Henry Clay, but he saw that Clay could never be elected to the presidency, so he did all he could for that staunch Southern Whig, "Old Rough and Ready," as General Taylor was called. He also visited Niagara and began to write a lecture about the falls.

About this time he perfected his invention for helping stranded steamboats over shallows in the variable Western rivers. His model, whittled out of a cigar box, is still one of the interesting sights in the Patent Office.

The service for which he was best known in Congress was a humorous speech against General Cass, referring to his own bloodless heroism in the Black Hawk War, as follows:

By the way, Mr. Speaker, did you know I am a military hero? Yes, sir; in the days of the Black Hawk War, I "fought, bled" and—came away! Speaking of General Cass's career reminds me of my own. I was not at Stillman's defeat, but I was about as near it as Cass was to Hull's surrender; and, like him, I saw the place very soon afterwards. It is quite certain I did not break my sword for I had none to break; but I *bent my musket* pretty badly on one occasion. If Cass broke his sword, the idea is he broke it in desperation. I bent my musket by accident. If General Cass went in advance of me in picking whortleberries, I guess I surpassed him in charges upon the wild onions. If he saw any live, fighting Indians, it was more than I did; but I had a good many bloody struggles with mosquitoes, and, although I never fainted from loss of blood, I can truly say I was often very hungry. Mr. Speaker, if I should ever conclude to doff whatever our Democratic friends may suppose there is of black-cockade federalism about me, and thereupon they shall take me up as their candidate for the presidency, I protest they shall not make fun of me, as they have of General Cass, by attempting to write me into a *military hero*!



His model, whittled out of a cigar box

1910
Story Calendar

ALLEN C. CLARK
ATTORNEY AT LAW
16 FOURTEENTH STREET
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Hon. Robert T. Lincoln,

My dear Sir:-

I am sending two
extracts relative to your father's
residence. And, a copy of my picture.
There is a better which I have not yet
located.

Yours,

March 26, 1917.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Allen C. Clark", with a long, sweeping horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Original letter + handwritten article filed in RTL Correspondence

ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN CONGRESS
by
Charles Oscar Paullin, The Washington Herald, January 24th, 1909.

Lincoln spent almost a year in Washington as the Representative to the Thirtieth Congress from the Sangamon district of Illinois. He arrived in the city about December 1st, 1847, for the first session, and found lodgings on Capitol Hill, at Mrs. B. Sprigg's boarding-house in Duff Green's row, two squares east of the Capitol.

It was customary at this time for the Members of Congress to board in small clubs or messes, somewhat after the fashion now followed by students in college towns. The Washington newspapers of the olden time contain many advertisements inserted by boarding-house keepers- usually women- informing the public that they could accommodate a "mess of "members with pleasant chambers."

Five of Lincoln's messmates were Pennsylvania Representatives- John Planchard, John Dickey, A. R. McIlvaine, James Pollock and John Strohm- all men of little note, with the exception of Pollock, who later became governor of Pennsylvania. In 1861, Lincoln appointed him director of the mint at Philadelphia, and it was while holding that office that he was instrumental in having the motto, "In God we trust," placed on the national coins. There were three other Repre-

sentatives at Mrs. Sprigg's, Elisha Embury of Indiana, and P. W. Tompkins of Mississippi, men of no particular significance, and Joshua R. Giddings of Ohio, for twenty years (1838-1859) the most distinguished anti-slavery leader of the House.

In 1861 Lincoln appointed Giddings Consul General to Canada, an office that he held until his death. There should also be mentioned as fellow-boarders of Lincoln, General Duff Green, a politician and diplomatist of some fame in his day, Nathan Sargent, a journalist, who wrote under the pen-name of Oliver Oldschool, and Dr. S. C. Busey of Washington. The variety of characters in the mess was quite sufficient to make the talk at the table as enjoyable as the eating.

Mrs. Sprigg seated her guests at a long table, over which she presided. Dr. Busey, a young doctor, who had been recently admitted to the practice of medicine, sat nearly opposite Lincoln, whom, he says, he "soon learned to know and "admire for his simple and unostentatious manners, kind-heartedness, and amusing jokes, anecdotes, and witticisms. When "about to tell an anecdote during a meal, he would lay down his "knife and fork, place his elbows upon the table, rest his face "between his hands and begin with the words, "that reminds me," "and proceed. Every body prepared for the explosions sure to "follow.

"I recall with vivid pleasure the scene of merriment at the dinner after his first speech in the House of Representatives, occasioned by the descriptions by himself and others of the Congressional mess, of the uproar in the House during the delivery."

As a neighbor to Lincoln, there lived in Duff Green's row, Simon Cameron, then Senator from Pennsylvania, and destined to become Lincoln's first Secretary of War. Lincoln's future political rival, Stephen A. Douglas, then Senator from Illinois, stayed at Willard's Hotel, the chief hostelry of the city.

Andrew Johnson, a Representative from Tennessee, Jefferson Davis, a Senator from Mississippi and Alexander H. Stephens, a Representative from Georgia, messed at boarding houses on Capitol Hill not far from that of Mrs. Sprigg. Of the latter, Lincoln, in February, 1848, wrote to his law partner as follows:

"I just take my pen to say that Mr. Stephens of Georgia, a little, slim, pale-faced, consumptive man, with a voice like Logan's, has just concluded the very best speech of an hour's length, I ever heard. My old withered, dry eyes are full of tears yet."

Near Duff Green's row there was a bowling alley that was much frequented by the statesmen on Capitol Hill. Notwithstanding Lincoln was a very awkward bowler, he played the game with zest and spirit; and whether successful or defeated

was always in good humor. At the alley he often indulged in his favorite pastime of story telling, and he readily gathered around him a crowd of eager listeners.

Another resort of Lincoln was the post-office of the House. Here his favorite seat, according to the newspaper correspondent, Ben Perley Poore, was "at the left of the open fireplace, tilted back in his chair, with his long legs reaching over to the chimney jamb. He never told a story twice, but appeared to have an endless repertoire of them always ready, like the successive charges in a magazine gun, and always pertinently adapted to some passing event. It was refreshing to us correspondents, compelled as we were to listen to so much that was prosy and tedious, to hear this light specimen of Western genius tell his inimitable stories, especially his reminiscences of the Black Hawk War."

The Librarian of the United States Supreme Court relates an incident that came to his notice, illustrative of Lincoln's plain, unassuming, backwoods way of doing things. One day he came to the library and asked for some law books which he wished to take to his room; when they were brought to him, he tied them into a bundle by means of a bandana handkerchief and putting a stick which he had brought with him through a knot in the handkerchief he shouldered it and marched off from the Library to his lodgings. In a few days he returned

with the books in the same way.

In the first session of the Thirtieth Congress, Mrs. Lincoln stayed for a time with her husband at Mrs. Sprigg's. She was very retiring and was seldom to be seen at her meals. She took little part in the social life of the Capital. Robert T., her eldest son was with her. She did not return to Washington for the short session.

Mr. Lincoln was frequently named as a member of social committees of semi-official character, appointed to give public dinners or to hold patriotic balls. He was doubtless chosen for such duties more often than he would have been had his party in his state been more numerously represented at Washington. He was the only Whig member of Congress from Illinois. It is an interesting coincidence that Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas were the Representatives of Illinois among the managers of the National Birth-Night Ball advertised to be held on the night of February 22nd, 1848, and also among the managers of one of the balls given on the evening after President Taylor's inauguration.

On February 21st, 1848, John Quincy Adams received a stroke of paralysis in the House of Representatives and two days later he died. This melancholy event led to the postponement of the Birth-Night Ball until March 1st. Lincoln was one of the members of the House chosen to make arrangements for Adam's funeral. He was one of the managers of President Taylor's

inauguration ball, held in an "extensive saloon" newly built on Judiciary Square, near the present Pension Office.

It was of this entertainment that Lincoln's friend, Mr. E. B. Washburne wrote: "A small number of mutual friends-including Mr. Lincoln-made up a party to attend the inauguration ball together. It was by far the most brilliant inauguration ball ever given. Of course Mr. Lincoln had never seen anything of the kind before. One of the most modest and unpretending persons present, he could not have dreamed that like honors were to come to him almost within a little more than a decade. He was greatly interested in all that was to be seen, and we did not take our departure until three or four o'clock in the morning.

"When we went to the cloak and hat room, Mr. Lincoln had no trouble in finding his short cloak, which little more than covered his shoulders, but after a long search was unable to find his hat. After an hour he gave up all idea of finding it. Taking his cloak on his arm he walked out in Judiciary Square, deliberately adjusting it on his shoulders and started off bareheaded for his lodgings. It would be hard to forget the sight of that tall and slim man, with his short cloak thrown over his shoulders, starting for his long walk home on Capitol Hill at four o'clock in the morning without any hat on."

Lincoln's career in Congress ended with the inauguration of Taylor in March 1849. Twelve years later he returned to the Capital as President elect of the United States.

The house was built by Daniel Carroll of Duddington, 1800. Carroll was of the original proprietors of the city, i.e., owned land at the time it was taken for the city.

It was a hotel in 1809. The proprietor was Robert Long. It was called Long's Hotel. Madison's first Inaugural Ball was held there. Account of the Ball in Life and Letters of Dolly Madison.- Allen C. Clark, pp100,101

Pictures of the City of Washington in the Post.

-Dr. Samuel C. Busey-

"The row was known as Carroll Row, and so designated by a stone in the wall of the corner house on which were cut the words 'Carroll Row,' and was probably built, as stated, by Daniel Carroll. # # # # # Subsequently the row passed into the possession of Duff Green, editor and proprietor of the United States Telegraph and was known in common parlance as Duff Green's Row. In 1848 Mr. Lincoln resided in the fourth of the row from the corner of A Street, kept as a boarding-house by Mrs. Sprigg. The property was condemned by the Government and the row of houses was demolished, preparatory to the building of the new Library Building. "

James Burtis Merwin, born Binghamton, N. Y.,
May 22nd, 1835; founder and editor, American Journal
of Education since 1867; in youth was intimate friend
of President Lincoln; during Civil War was in service
of U. S. A.; popular lecturer on Shakespeare and other
literary and educational subjects; address, Middle-
field, Conn. (Above taken from Who's Who in America,
Vol. 1X.)

Lincoln's Single Term in Congress



OST of those who make laws, like most of those who practice law, serve a long apprenticeship before they attain distinction. There have been men of marked ability who at first could not catch a Speaker's eye, or were slow in learning the rules, or who feared the sound of their own voices. We might easily pick out names that last in history because of later achievements or of exalted position who entered Congress, passed out and were forgotten.

Do we often hear of Representative Madison save as the father of the tariff act of 1789? Andrew Jackson was in both houses of Congress, yet to the popular imagination he starts at the battle of New Orleans. Possibly every newspaper in the Union has said that James K. Polk was the only Speaker of the House who reached the Presidency, still no well known anecdotes about Speaker Polk are in circulation. There are men in Pennsylvania politics who do not know that James Buchanan was for years in Congress, and young voters in Ohio who know little of Garfield's brilliant legislative career. We have had Speakers justly renowned whose early service in the House is not often mentioned. Some of us almost fancy that Calhoun and Webster were born senators, so little do we dwell on their days as representatives.

Nevertheless the probabilities are that every school composition on Abraham Lincoln that is meritorious enough to be printed in a rural weekly, will refer to his single term in Congress. The most condensed Lincoln's Birthday editorials generally mention his legislative experience. It is doubtful if there is, taking the country over, one person not illiterate out of twenty thousand who has not heard of Congressman Lincoln. Why should these two years be so well known?

ONLY WHIG FROM ILLINOIS

Henry Clay had scarcely entered the House before he was chosen Speaker, but it is misleading to say this unless we add that Clay had twice been sent to fill an unexpired term in the United States Senate. Lincoln made his entrance under different circumstances, although he, like Clay, had been a well known legislator in his own state. It is possible that his gaunt form, his awkward movements, his pioneer manner aroused curiosity; but it was then of more moment that he was the only Whig from Illinois. A man of the frontier who had been on a raft and who had served in the Black Hawk war had his place in the party which had elected the victor of Tippecanoe and was to elect Rough and Ready. Crude as he might be, the lonely Whig from Illinois was never commonplace; and whatever subject he discussed in a walk to the House or a ride into the country, he always knew more than one would have judged from his appearance.

What in those days meant a great deal was that Lincoln had defeated Peter Cartwright. After Wesley and Whitefield there is no name in American Methodism better known. After Jackson, Clay and Benton there was no man in the West of wider reputation, and it is probable that more anecdotes were told about Cartwright than

about Jackson, Clay and Benton together. Cartwright was so bold, so eloquent, so ready for emergencies, that to this day his autobiography is a fairly popular book and many are the camp meeting allusions to what old folks used to say of him. Yet this prince of exhorters had been overcome by the rail splitter, who gained in such a campaign a self-confidence that stood him in good stead when he grappled with the little giant. "NATIONAL REPUBLICAN"

"SPOT RESOLUTIONS"

No President has escaped censure, but no President has had such an experience as that which fell to Polk. Lincoln's so-called "Spot Resolutions" mercilessly exposed the hollowness of the pleas offered for the administration. Lincoln asked questions the President dared not answer, and the evasion which was half-forgotten by the country at large, was never forgotten by those who knew the sternness of this ungainly member from Illinois. Polk had been guilty of unjust aggression, he had sent troops where they should not have gone, he had done wrong to the Mexicans, and Lincoln's resolutions were un pitying. Polk could dodge, but he could not forget. The man who framed such an indictment might be a new member, but he was not new to legal studies and he was not a novice in controversy.

In, perhaps, every county in the Union there is some one who can make a fairly amusing campaign speech—that is for the immediate needs of the canvass. But a speech humorous enough to delight readers of seventy years later—ah, that is a different matter. Congressman Lincoln's speech of July 27, 1848, is good reading now, and will be for a generation or a half century to come. It was in 1848 that Martin Van Buren's bolt defeated Lewis Cass, the regular Democratic nominee, and Lincoln's peroration, while not so stately as the introductory lecture of Blackstone, was quoted far and wide.

"I have heard some things from New York; and if they are true, one might well say of your party there, as a drunken fellow once said when he heard the reading of an indictment for hog-stealing. The clerk read on till he got to and through the words, 'did steal, take, and carry away, ten boars, ten sows, ten shoats and ten pigs,' at which he exclaimed, 'Well, by golly, that is the most equally divided gang of hogs I ever did hear of.' If there is any other gang of hogs more equally divided than the Democrats of New York are about this time, I have not heard of it."

No one claims Lincoln, with his one term, as a leader of Congress; but is it not fair to say that he made a reputation no other man of a single term, and no man in his first term (except Clay) has made? Thaddeus Stevens, it is true, has been called a leader of the House from his entrance in Buchanan's time, but he had been a member several years before. Lincoln's one term has an interest all its own.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, THE CONGRESSMAN.

Mr. CABLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record by printing a talk I gave last night by wireless telephone on Abraham Lincoln, the Congressman.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the Record by printing an address on Abraham Lincoln, the Congressman. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The address is as follows:

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, THE CONGRESSMAN.

Mr. CABLE. Throughout this broad land of ours and in many remote spots in the Eastern as well as the Western Hemisphere, I doubt if there is a person living who does not know of Abraham Lincoln, the greatest character of his age. We all know of him as the great emancipator and the foremost thinker of his time, but how much do we know of Lincoln as a Member of Congress? In fact, how many of us even remember that he ever served in the House of Representatives?

All sides and periods of Lincoln's life are worthy of study, but inasmuch as the great work which he did in later years was so magnificent, it totally eclipsed his political life from young manhood until he came into national prominence.

Lincoln, always a man of the people, the truest type of American statesman, served one term in the Thirtieth Congress of the United States. He did not seek reelection by reason of a friendly understanding that existed in his district among the members of his party, the Whigs. Although but 37 years of age at the time of his election, he came to Congress skilled and proficient in the art of politics and statesmanship, acquired by experience and his keen insight of human nature.

By no means was Lincoln an amateur at holding public office. In addition to being captain of a company of Sagamon County Rifles, he had served two terms in the Illinois State Legislature and was the Whig candidate for speaker each term; he was deputy county surveyor; postmaster at New Salem, Ill.; he had made two campaigns for Congress before being successful; he had served as a member of the Whig State central committee, and in addition was on the Harrison electoral ticket in 1840 and on it in 1844.

But little has been recorded of his life in Washington as a Member of the House, but it is known that he occupied a seat in the Chamber in the center of the last row on the left-hand side. With eight other Members he boarded with a Mrs. Spriggs, whose house was located on the spot now occupied by the fountain in front of the Congressional Library.

He served on the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, of which Joseph M. Root, of Norwalk, Ohio, was the chairman. He also was a member of the Committee on Expenditures in the War Department.

Abraham Lincoln is best known for his untiring and successful fight against slavery. He will always be known as the Great Emancipator. He carried this fight into the halls of Congress. Fifteen days after the session began a memorial against slave trade in the District of Columbia was presented to Congress by residents of the District. A motion to lay the memorial on the table, or, in other words, to kill it, was made. Lincoln by his vote saved it, as the result of the roll call stood 97 to 97, the Speaker also voting in the negative, thus permitting it to be considered by the Judiciary Committee.

Following this Lincoln introduced a bill to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. It provided that the question should be determined by a vote of the white male citizens over 21 years of age who had resided in the District for more than a year. The owners of the slaves were to receive full cash value for their loss from the United States Treasury and the slaves a certificate of freedom. A board consisting of the President, the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of the Treasury were to pass upon the value of the slaves. Also Lincoln's bill provided that all persons born of slave mothers were to be free.

Lincoln's record in Congress showed that he also favored adjusted compensation for soldiers. At the time he took his seat in the House all the battles of the Mexican War had been fought, but the American Army was still in Mexico. The records show that Lincoln voted for all measures favorable to the soldiers and their families. At one time he introduced an amendment after obtaining the floor to grant bounty lands to men who had served as privates in the Mexican War. He also suggested that bounties be given to all volunteers of the War of 1812.

Lincoln also favored Federal aid for the construction of highways. In his single term as Congressman he made less than a dozen speeches, and one of his most important talks was a reply to the President's veto message against improvement by Federal aid.

"If the Nation refuses to make improvements of the more general kind because their benefits may be somewhat local," said Lincoln, "a State may for the same reason refuse to make any improvement of a local nature because its benefits may be somewhat general. A State may well say to the Nation, 'If you will do nothing for me, I will do nothing for you.'"

In the same speech he said: "This Capital is built at the public expense and for the public benefit; but does anyone doubt that it is of some peculiar local advantage to the property owners and the business people of Washington? Shall we remove it for this reason? And if so, where shall we set it down and be free from the difficulty? To make sure of our object shall we locate it nowhere, and have Congress hereafter to hold its sessions, as the loaffr lodged, 'in spots about it'?" Lincoln was always active for the party workers. Then, as well as now, there were men who deserved reward for their efforts, and Lincoln was always ready to see them rewarded, as he was a good party man. He often reminded Cabinet members in his persistent, good-natured way that a vacancy should exist in various departments, as the place was now held by one who had failed in the proper discharge of any of the duties of his office. Then, again, the records show that Lincoln would call the department heads' attention to the fact that some Democrats under their employ were distinctly partisan and openly opposed the election of Gen. Taylor. Lincoln also brought charges against the Democratic postmaster of Springfield, Ill., on the grounds of political activity. He also insisted, inasmuch as he and a Col. Baker were the only Whigs from Illinois, that they be consulted before any appointments were made in that State.

Even in his single term in Congress Lincoln gained great popularity, and his wit, his command of the English language, and his ability to attack his political enemies on the floor of the House brought him much attention. The Congressional Globe tells us that "he was able to obtain the floor amongst many competitors." At one time Lincoln stated that he wanted to make a general talk, but he would give way to take up the question which was pending. However, for fear that he would not talk there were cries throughout the House of "No! No! Go on."

His unflinching frankness and honesty at one time brought him a rebuke from a Member of the House when the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads had reported out a bill which authorized the Postmaster General to enter into a contract with the railroads to carry the mails. This was but a month after the session began. Lincoln rose and said: "I have made an effort for some few days since to obtain the floor, but have failed. The Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads is composed of five Whigs and four Democrats. The report has met the approval of all Whigs and all Democrats except one. I want to say further than this—"

At this point he was interrupted by a Member who gave Lincoln to understand that it was not in order to ever mention on the floor of the House what had taken place in the committee.

Lincoln then said: "If I have been out of order in what I have said, I take it all back so far as I can."

At this there was much laughter. He then continued: "I have no desire, I assure you, gentlemen, to be out of order, although I can never keep long in order." Some Members of Congress, if mentioned in history at all, are known by a law that bears their name. Not so with Lincoln. No such law exists, as far as I can find; neither is one needed. His name will be perpetuated long after the laws of his Congress are repealed or forgotten. The services he rendered in the House aided in his broad comprehension of the needs of the Nation that followed. His bills were few. They chiefly dealt with the problems of the Post Office Department. He prepared reports on other bills reported out by the committee. One permitted the postmasters at county seats to take subscriptions for newspapers and periodicals.

Lincoln recognized the power of the press and the need of newspapers, for he said in his report: "Our republican institutions can best be sustained by the diffusion of knowledge and the due encouragement of a universal spirit of inquiry and discussion of public events through the medium of the public press."

The logic of his debates in the House could not be answered. Courage, honesty of purpose, just dealings with his fellow men, both in Congress and out, made him the one great figure of the age.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, THE CONGRESSMAN

BY JOHN L. CABLE [92]
Member of Congress from Ohio

Throughout this broad land of ours and in many remote spots in the Eastern as well as the Western Hemisphere, I doubt if there is a person living who does not know of Abraham Lincoln, the greatest character of his age. We all know of him as the Great Emancipator and the foremost thinker of his time, but how much do we know of Lincoln as a Member of Congress? In fact, how many of us even remember that he ever served in the House of Representatives?

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Lincoln, always a man of the people, the truest type of American statesman, served one term in the Thirtieth Congress of the United States. He did not seek re-election by reason of a friendly understanding that existed in his district among the members of his party, the Whigs. Although but 37 years of age at the time of his election, he came to Congress skilled and proficient in the art of politics and statesmanship, acquired by experience and his keen insight of human nature.

By no means was Lincoln a novice at holding public office. In addition to being captain of a company of Sagamon County Rifles, he had served two terms in the Illinois State Legislature and was the Whig candidate for speaker each term; he was deputy county surveyor, postmaster at New Salem, Ill.; he had made two campaigns for Congress before being successful; he had served as a member of the Whig state central committee, and in addition was on the Harrison electoral ticket in 1841 and on the Clay ticket in 1844.

Little has been recorded of his life in Washington as a Member of the House, but it is known that he occupied a seat in the Chamber in the center of the last row on the left hand side. With eight other Members he boarded with a Mrs. Spriggs, whose house was located on the spot now occupied by the fountain in front of the Congressional Library.

He served on the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, of which Joseph M. Root, of Norwalk, Ohio, was the chairman. He also was a member of the Committee on Expenditures in the War Department.

Abraham Lincoln is best known for his untiring and successful fight against slavery. He will always be known as the Great Emancipator. He carried this fight into the halls of Congress. Fifteen days after the session began a memorial against slave trade in the District of Columbia was presented to Congress by residents of the District. A motion to lay the memorial on the table, or, in other words, to kill it, was made.

Lincoln by his vote saved it, as the result of the roll call stood 97 to 37, the Speaker also voting in the negative, thus permitting it to be considered by the Judiciary Committee.

Following this Lincoln introduced a bill to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. It provided that the question should be determined by a vote of the white male citizens over 21 years of age who had resided in the District for more than a year. The owners of the slaves were to receive full cash value for their loss from the United States Treasury and the slaves a certificate of freedom. A board, consisting of the President, the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of the Treasury were to pass upon the value of the slaves. Also Lincoln's bill provided that all persons born of slave mothers were to be free.

Lincoln's record in Congress showed that he also favored adjusted compensation for soldiers. At the time he took his seat in the House all the battles of the Mexican War had been fought, but the American Army was still in Mexico. The records show that Lincoln voted for all measures favorable to the soldiers and their families. At one time he introduced an amendment after obtaining the floor to grant bounty lands to men who had served as privates in the Mexican War. He also suggested that bounties be given to all volunteers of the War of 1812.

Lincoln also favored Federal aid for the construction of highways. In his single term as Congressman he made less than a dozen speeches, and one of his most important talks was a reply to the President's veto message against improvement by Federal aid.

"If the Nation refuses to make improvements of the more general kind because their benefits may be somewhat local," said Lincoln, "a State may for the same reason refuse to make any improvement of a local nature because its benefits may be somewhat general. A State may well say to the Nation, 'If you will do nothing for me, I will do nothing for you.'"

In the same speech he said: "This Capitol is built at the public expense and for the public benefit, but does any one doubt that it is of some peculiar local advantage to the property owners and the business people of Washington? Shall we remove it for this reason? And if so, where shall we set it down and be free from the difficulty? To make sure of our object shall we locate it nowhere, and have Congress hereafter to hold its sessions, as the hoater lodged, 'in spots about'?"

Even in his single term in Congress Lincoln gained great popularity, and his wit, his command of the English language, and his ability to attack his political enemies on the floor of the House brought him much attention. The Congressional Globe tells us that "he was able to obtain the floor amongst many competitors."

At one time Lincoln stated that he wanted to make a general talk, but that he would give way to take up the question which was pending. However, for fear that he would not talk there were cries throughout the House of "No! No! Go on."

His unflinching frankness and honesty at one time brought him a rebuke from a Member of the House when the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads had reported out a bill which authorized the Postmaster General to enter into a contract with the railroads to carry the mails. This was but a month after the session began. Lincoln rose and said: "I have made an effort for some few days since to obtain the floor, but have failed. The Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads is composed of five Whigs and four Democrats. The report has met the approval of all Whigs and all Democrats except one. I want to say further than this."

At this point he was interrupted by a Member who gave Lincoln to understand that it was not in order ever to mention on the floor of the House what had taken place in the committee.

Lincoln then said: "If I have been out of order in what I have said, I take it all back so far as I can."

At this there was much laughter. He then continued: "I have no desire, I assure you, gentlemen, to be out of order, although I can never keep long in order."

Some Members of Congress, if mentioned in history at all, are known by a law that bears their name. Not so with Lincoln. No such law exists, as far as I can find; neither is one needed. His name will be perpetuated long after the laws of his Congress are repealed or forgotten. The services he rendered in the House aided in his broad comprehension of the needs of the Nation that followed. His bills were few. They chiefly dealt with the problems of the Post Office Department. He prepared reports on other bills reported out by the committee. One permitted the postmasters, at county seats to take subscriptions for newspapers and periodicals.

Lincoln recognized the power of the press and the need of newspapers, for he said in his report: "Our republican institutions can best be sustained by the diffusion of knowledge and the due encouragement of a universal spirit of inquiry and discussion of public events through the medium of the public press."

The logic of his debates in the House could not be answered. Courage, honesty of purpose, just dealings with his fellow men, both in Congress and out, made him the one great figure of the age.

Washington Recalls Congressman Lincoln

BY RODNEY DUTCHER

Washington, D. C.—If the young man of the house spends some of his evenings at the bowling alleys don't discourage him. He is merely following in one or two of the footsteps of Abraham Lincoln.

Those were the days when Lincoln was only a congressman. He served in the house from 1847 to 1849 and apparently wanted to continue but there was no overwhelming demand for him in his Illinois district.

While in Washington for those two years, however, he took keen delight in hurling the old cannon ball down the alley and he was fairly good at it, judging from the meager accounts of his prowess now available.

He bowled match games with other members of congress at the alley in James Caspari's hotel, known as the Congress Hall Refectory, on Capitol square, opposite the house of representatives. The hotel has long ago disappeared and its site is now a part of the capitol grounds.

Always Watched by Crowds

"He played the game with great

gusto," according to the only account of Congressman Lincoln's sporting activities here that this writer can locate. "Whether he won or lost, it was all the same to him. His gaunt figure added to the bystanders' entertainment. When he played a crowd gathered."

Lincoln had prodigious strength and in his early Illinois days was fond of physical recreation of the simpler sort such as wrestling.

"In sports requiring either muscle or skill he took no little interest," wrote Herndon, his law partner and biographer. "He indulged in all the games of the day, even to a horse race or a cock fight."

Faith in His Decisions

Lincoln's reputation for fairness and ability to enforce his decisions caused him to be selected as umpire when there was argument about the outcome of a cock fight, according to Herndon. Townsman of New Salem looked up to him for his prodigious feats of strength. Once "by an arrangement of ropes and straps,

harnessed about his hips, he was enabled one day at the mill to astonish a crowd of village celebrities by lifting a box of stones weighing near a thousand pounds."

At his first stump speech, in Pappsville, near Springfield, Ill., a free for all fight broke out and when Lincoln noticed one of his friends getting the worst of it, he stepped down and threw the assailant some 12 feet.

Lincoln was a popular congressman here but he was not regarded as presidential timber. In the thirtieth congress, through which he served, there were such senatorial giants as Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, Jefferson Davis of Mississippi and Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois. Among his colleagues in the house were Alexander Stephens of Georgia and Andrew Johnson of Tennessee.

Bill Never Reached Floor

Legislatively, Lincoln's two main distinctions were his bill to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia and his opposition to the Mexican war. However, the bill couldn't be forced onto the floor.

The Lincolns lived at a boarding house very near the capitol, along with several other congressmen. Dr. Samuel C. Busey, who sat nearly opposite Lincoln at the table, wrote:

"I soon learned to know and admire him for his simple and unostentatious manners, kind heartedness and amusing jokes, anecdotes and witticisms. When about to tell an anecdote during a meal he would lay down his knife and fork, place his elbows on the table, rest his face between his hands and begin with the words 'that reminds me.' Everybody prepared for the explosions sure to follow."

One Washingtonian used to tell how, when Lincoln borrowed some law books from the library of congress, he wrapped them in a bandana handkerchief and ran a stick through a knot in the handkerchief, carrying them away on his shoulder.

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Dr. Louis A. Warren - - - Editor

REPRESENTATIVES IN THE THIRTIETH CONGRESS

November seems to offer a proper atmosphere for listing the members of the House of Representatives in the Thirtieth Congress who were associated with Abraham Lincoln. The term began in December, 1847, and ended in March, 1849.

The gathering of the autographs of this group would seem to offer a challenge for the most ambitious Lincoln collector. It includes the names of several men who influenced greatly the political life of the nation. Many of Lincoln's close friends as well as some of his most worthy opponents in the Civil War served in this Congress.

A

Abbott, Amos, Massachusetts; Adams, Green, Kentucky; Adams, J. Q., Massachusetts; Ashmun, George, Massachusetts; Atkinson, A., Virginia.

B

Barringer, D. M., North Carolina; Barrow, Washington, Tennessee; Bayly, I. T., Virginia; Beale, R. L. T., Virginia; Bedinger, Henry, Virginia; Belcher, Hiram, Maine; Birdsall, Auburn, New York; Black, J. A., South Carolina; Blanchard, John, Pennsylvania; Boccock, T. S., Virginia; Botts, John M., Virginia; Bowdon, F. W., Alabama; Bowlin, J. B., Missouri; Boyd, Luin, Kentucky; Boydon, Nathaniel, North Carolina; Brady, J. E., Pennsylvania; Brodhead, Richard, Pennsylvania; Brown, A. G., Mississippi; Brown, Charles, Pennsylvania; Brown, W. G., Virginia; Buckner, Aylett, Kentucky; Burt, Armistead, South Carolina; Butler, Chester, Pennsylvania.

C

Canby, R. S., Ohio; Cathcart, C. W., Indiana; Chapman, John G., Maryland; Chase, L. B., Tennessee; Clapp, A. W. H., Maine; Clark, B. L., Kentucky; Clark, Franklin, Maine; Clingman, T. L., North Carolina; Cobb, Howell, Georgia; Cobb, W. R. W., Alabama; Cocke, Wm., Tennessee; Collamer, Jacob, Vermont; Collins, William, New York; Conger, H. S., New York; Cranston, R. B., Rhode Island; Crisfield, J. W., Maryland; Crowell, John, Ohio; Crozier, J. H., Tennessee; Cummins, J. D., Ohio.

D

Daniel, J. R. J., North Carolina; Dickey, John, Pennsylvania; Dickinson, R., Ohio; Dixon, James, Connecticut; Donnell, R. S., North Carolina;

Duer, William, New York; Duncan, Daniel, Ohio; Duncan, Garnett, Kentucky; Dunn, G. G., Indiana.

E

Eckert, G. N., Pennsylvania; Edsall, J. E., New Jersey; Edwards, T. O., Ohio; Embree, Elisha, Indiana; Evans, Alexander, Maryland; Evans, Nathan, Ohio.

F

Farrelly, J. W., Pennsylvania; Featherston, W. I., Mississippi; Ficklin, O. B., Illinois; Fisher, David, Ohio; Flournoy, Thomas S., Virginia; Foren, J. J., Ohio; Freedly, John, Pennsylvania; French, Richard, Kentucky; Fries, George, Ohio; Fulton, A. S., Virginia.

G

Gaines, J. P., Kentucky; Gayle, John, Alabama; Gentry, M. P., Tennessee; Giddings, J. R., Ohio; Goggin, W. L., Virginia; Gott, Daniel, New York; Green, James S., Missouri; Gregory, D. L., New Jersey; Grinnell, Joseph, Massachusetts.

H

Hale, Artemas, Massachusetts; Hall, N. K., New York; Hall, W. P., Missouri; Hammons, David, Maine; Hampton, J. G., New Jersey; Hampton, Moses, Pennsylvania; Haralson, Hugh A., Georgia; Harmanson, J. H., Louisiana; Harris, S. W., Alabama; Haskell, W. T., Tennessee; Henly, T. J., Indiana; Henry, William, Vermont; Hill, H. L. W., Tennessee; Hilliard, H. W., Alabama; Holly, J. M., New York; Holmes, E. B., New York; Holmes, I. E., South Carolina; Hornbeck, J. W., Pennsylvania; Houston, G. S., Alabama; Houston, J. W., Delaware; Hubbard, S. D., Connecticut; Hudson, Charles, Massachusetts; Hunt, Washington, New York.

I

Inge, S. W., Alabama; Ingersoll, C. J., Pennsylvania; Ingersoll, J. R., Pennsylvania; Irvin, Alexander, Pennsylvania; Iverson, Alfred, Georgia.

J

Jackson, D. S., New York; Jamie-son, John, Missouri; Jenkins, Timothy, New York; Johnson, Andrew, Tennessee; Johnson, James H., New Hampshire; Johnson, R. W., Arkansas; Jones, G. W., Tennessee; Jones, John W., Georgia.

K

Kellogg, Orlando, New York; Kennon, Wm., Jr., Ohio; Kink, D. P., Massachusetts; King, T. B., Georgia.

L

Lahm, Samuel, Ohio; La Cere, Emile, Louisiana; Lawrence, Sidney, New York; Lawrence, W. T., New York; Levin, L. C., Pennsylvania; Ligon, I. W., Maryland; Lincoln, Abraham, Illinois; Lord, Frederick W., New York; Lumpkin, J. H., Georgia.

M

McClelland, Robert, Michigan; McClellan, J. O., Illinois; McDowell, James, Virginia; McIlvaine, A. R., Pennsylvania; McKay, J. J., North Carolina; McLane, R. M., Maryland;

Maclay, W. B., New York; Mann, Job, Pennsylvania; Marsh, G. P., Vermont; Marvin, Dudley, New York; Meade, R. K., Virginia; Miller, J. K., Ohio; Morehead, C. S., Kentucky; Morris, D. J., Ohio; Morse, I. E., Georgia; Mullin, Joseph, New York; Murphy, H. C., New York.

N

Nelson, William, New York; Nes, Harry, Pennsylvania; Newell, W. A., New Jersey; Nicoll, Henry, New York.

O

Outlaw, David, North Carolina.

P

Palfrey, J. G., Massachusetts; Peaslee, C. H., New Hampshire; Peck, L. B., Vermont; Pendleton, J. S., Virginia; Petrie, George, New York; Pettit, John, Indiana; Phelps, J. S., Missouri; Preston, W. P., Virginia; Peyton, S. O., Kentucky; Pollock, James, Pennsylvania; Putnam, Harvey, New York.

R

Reynolds, Gideon, New York; Rhett, R. B., South Carolina; Richardson, W. O., Illinois; Richey, Thomas, Ohio; Robinson, J. L., Indiana; Rockhill, William, Indiana; Rockwell, John A., Connecticut; Rockwell, Julius, Massachusetts; Roman, J. D., Indiana; Rott, J. M., Ohio; Rose, Robert L., New York; Rumsey, David, Jr., New York.

S

Sawyer, William, Ohio; Schneck, R. C., Ohio; Sheppard, A. H., North Carolina; Sherrill, Eliakim, New York; Simpson, R. F., South Carolina; Sims, A. D., South Carolina; Slingerland, J. J., New York; Smart, E. K., Maine; Smith, C. B., Indiana; Smith, Robert, Illinois; Smith, Truman, Connecticut; Stanton, F. P., Tennessee; Starkweather, G. A., New York; Stephens, A. H., Georgia; Stewart, Andrew, Pennsylvania; Strahm, John, Pennsylvania; Strong, William, Pennsylvania; St. John, D. B., New York; Stuart, C. E., Michigan.

T

Tallmadge, F. A., New York; Taylor, J. L., Ohio; Thibadeaux, B. G., Louisiana; Thomas, J. H., Tennessee; Thompson, Jacob, Mississippi; Thompson, James, Pennsylvania; Thompson, J. B., Kentucky; Thompson, R. A., Virginia; Thompson, R. W., Indiana; Thurston, Benjamin, Rhode Island; Tompkins, P. W., Mississippi; Toombs, Robert, Georgia; Tuck, Amos, New Hampshire; Turner, T. J., Illinois.

V

VanDyke, John, New Jersey; Venable, A. W., North Carolina; Vinton, S. T., Ohio.

W

Warren, Cornelius, New York; Wentworth, John, Illinois; White, Hugh, New York; Wick, W. W., Indiana; Wiley, J. S., Maine; Williams, Hezekiah, Maine; Wilmot, David, Pennsylvania; Wilson, James, New Hampshire; Winthrop, Robert, Massachusetts.

Congressman Lincoln Left Wife Home

WASHINGTON, Feb. 11.—On the eve of Abraham Lincoln's Birthday it is interesting to reflect that as a member of Congress he was just another good story teller. He was 38 when he came to the Hill in 1847 and deemed himself an elderly man.

Except for her one brief visit to Washington, while in Congress he left his wife home in Illinois. He couldn't afford to establish a home for his family in the overcrowded Washington of that day, so he sent them back to Springfield.

Lincoln lived in Mrs. Briggs' boarding house on Capitol Hill. He told his first anecdotes at Christmas time and by New Year's Day was the acknowledged champ of the Congressional raconteurs. He brightened his letters home with bits of gossip about other Congressmen who had girl friends.

To his surprise he was put on an inaugural ball committee and stayed at the ball until 4 a.m., just watching the swells; didn't dance a dance. There were two inaugural balls, one at \$10 a ticket and one at a fashionable saloon at \$2.

As a Congressman Lincoln was paid only \$8 a day, plus \$8 for each twenty miles traveled to and from the capital. Not until six years later was a Congressman's salary increased to \$3000 a year. As President his salary was only \$25,000 a year; the salary is now \$75,000. When his term as Congressman expired his strong-willed wife forbade him to take the proffered job of Governor of Oregon Territory.

A slave girl who worked at Lincoln's boarding house, who had paid \$240 of the \$300 necessary to buy her freedom, was kidnaped and sold down the river to New Orleans. It was not till ten years later, when he was running unsuccessfully for the Senate, that he declared: "A Nation can not survive half slave and half free."

His chief distinction as a Congressman was his attack on President Polk for invading Mexico. His most comical speech in the House was an attack on the dubious military laurels of a Democratic candidate for President.

Against his will (his guards insisted) he stole through turbulent Baltimore incognito; assassination was in the air. He was the target for torrents of abuse. Boston swells did not like his whim of measuring height with them and of keeping his shoeless feet on the White House mantel as he sat slumped down.

Later Lincoln and his wife faced Confederate fire coolly at Fort Stevens, inside the city limits, near our present neighborhood tennis courts, from the raiding soldiers of General Jubal Early, great-uncle of Steve Early, who is a Roosevelt secretary. One evening while out for a walk Lincoln tried the door of the Army Arsenal and found it unlocked—and unguarded.

During his first year in the White

House Lincoln's aims were clear enough, but his methods were somewhat uncertain. Once a politician, in the first month of the war, came to a White House party armed with three pistols and a big knife or "Arkansas toothpick." (What the Secret

Service men wouldn't do to that baby nowadays!) Lincoln could see Confederate flags across the Potomac, and the Confederate capital was only 110 miles away—now a two-hour drive.

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WARTIME PHOTO OF LINCOLN



This photograph of President Lincoln was taken in the closing days of the war between the States by Brady.

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LINCOLN AND CONGRESS

The session of Congress, just closed, has been without a precedent in so many particulars that it would be impossible to make any comparison, whatever, with previous convocations of this august body. However, our attention is called to the fact that Abraham Lincoln served as a congressman during the war with Mexico, and we are also reminded that he was the President of the Nation when another war of greater magnitude took place.

The Thirtieth Congress

The Thirtieth Congress was in session from December 6, 1847 to August 14, 1848 and from December 4, 1848 to March 3, 1849. The two senators from Illinois were Sidney Breese and Stephen A. Douglas. Robert Smith, John A. McClernand, Orlando B. Dicklin, John Wentworth, William A. Richardson, Thomas J. Turner and Abraham Lincoln were the members of the House of Representatives. Lincoln was the only representative of the Whig party.

Lincoln's attitude toward the Mexican War has often been misunderstood and some conclusions have been drawn with reference to his one term in Congress which will not stand in the light of available records. It is true, that Lincoln refused to sanction by his vote, statements which were made with reference to the beginning of the Mexican War. His "spot" resolutions, as they were called, were to the point.

The Mexican War began in May 1846, and while it was virtually over by September 1847, it was not until August 1848 that the last of the troops came out of the country. There were many war bills which came before the Thirtieth Congress on which Lincoln voted, which had directly to do with the soldiers.

Douglas charged in the Ottawa debate that Lincoln had "distinguished himself by his opposition to the Mexican War," Lincoln replied, "Whenever they (the Government) asked for any money, or land warrants, or anything to pay the soldiers there, during all that time I gave the same vote that Judge Douglas did."

Douglas, also said in the debate at Ottawa, that "when Lincoln returned home from Congress he found that the indignation of the people followed him everywhere, and he was again submerged, or obliged to return into private life, forgotten by his former friends." It is well-known by all informed students of Lincoln that four Illinois men, who were anxious to go to Congress, agreed that each one should have a term, if he could be

elected, and not be a candidate for re-election the following term. The Mexican stand of Lincoln had nothing to do with his failure to run and he was also convinced that the defeat of Logan who followed him as a candidate was in no way connected with his (Lincoln's) own stand on the Mexican War question. (See Letter to William Schouler, August 28, 1848.)

Within the next four years after the term in Congress, he was urged to run for the legislature, his name was proposed for governor, and he was made a member of the Whig National Committee, and also mentioned for an United States Judge. In 1854, six years after his service in Congress, he was elected to the legislature by the largest majority of any of the candidates in his district which should serve as a very definite challenge to those who feel he was repudiated for his congressional record.

The Three Civil War Congresses

There were three different congresses which served during the Civil War. The Thirty-seventh Congress

opened with a special session of the Senate beginning on inauguration day, March 4, 1861, followed by three sessions of the entire Congress, the last one closing on March 3, 1863. The Thirty-eighth Congress opened with a special session of the Senate beginning on March 4, 1863, followed by two sessions of the entire Congress, concluding on March 3, 1865. The Thirty-ninth Congress opened with a special session of the Senate on March 4, 1865 and followed by two sessions of the entire Congress, concluding on March 3, 1867. Abraham Lincoln served as President of the Nation during the first two and part of the third congresses mentioned above.

On December 1, 1862 Abraham Lincoln delivered his annual message to Congress when the war had been in progress over a year and a half. The opening paragraph and excerpts from the three closing paragraphs of the address are here printed verbatim, and without comment:

"Since your last annual assembling another year of health and bountiful harvest has passed; and while it has not pleased the Almighty to bless us with a return of peace, we can but press on, guided by the best light he gives us, trusting that in his own good time and wise way all will yet be well."

"I do not forget the gravity which should characterize a paper addressed to the Congress of the nation by the Chief Magistrate of the nation. Nor do I forget that some of you are my seniors, nor that many of you have more experience than I in the conduct of public affairs. Yet I trust that in view of the great responsibility resting upon me, you will perceive no want of respect to yourselves in any undue earnestness I may seem to display."

"The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country. Fellow-citizens, we cannot escape history. We of this Congress and this administration will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down, in honor or dishonor, to the latest generation. We say we are for the Union. The world will not forget that we say this. We know how to save the Union. The world knows we do know how to save it. We—even we here—hold the power and bear the responsibility."

Dr. Warren's Annual Itinerary

The editor of "Lincoln Lore" while on his fourteenth annual itinerary would be pleased to meet any of his Lincoln friends who may be living in or near the cities where he is to speak on the days cited. The schedule of his local engagements may be secured at the offices of the Lincoln National Life Insurance Company in the following cities: Aurora, Illinois, January 25; Racine, Wisconsin, January 26; Appleton, Wisconsin, January 27; Madison, Wisconsin, January 28, 29; Minneapolis, Minnesota, February 1, 2, 3; Duluth, Minnesota, February 4; Hibbing, Minnesota, February 5; Milwaukee, Wisconsin, February 8, 9; Chicago, Illinois, February 10, 11, 12, 13; Pontiac, Michigan, February 15; Detroit, Michigan, February 16, 17; Adrian, Michigan, February 18; Toledo, Ohio, February 19; Muskegon, Michigan, February 22; Grand Rapids, Michigan, February 23, 24; Kalamazoo, Michigan, February 25; Jackson, Michigan, February 26; Springfield, Ohio, March 1; Columbus, Ohio, March 2; Canton, Ohio, March 3; Akron, Ohio, March 4, 5.

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LINCOLN'S TWO POLITICAL EPOCHS

Early November days, whether during an "off" year or not, reminds one of the political contests which have changed the course of domestic and foreign policies in American history. None of the Nation's November elections has caused quite so drastic a reaction to the choice of a President as the results of the balloting in 1860.

Abraham Lincoln's success at the polls in that memorable campaign, which elevated him to the President's chair, was a high point in his second political era. The first one had ended with his election to Congress, but the second one was brought to a close by a vile assassin.

If we take the literal meaning of the term epoch, which refers primarily to the starting point of a project and embraces the sensations and convictions which ignite the new flame of interest, we will sense the purpose of this monograph as indicated by the title.

There has been a tendency on the part of many historians to use Lincoln's inauguration to the Presidency as the dividing point of his political history, but the second era, in reality, began at the time the Missouri Compromise was repealed.

Lincoln's motives and reactions in the epochs of the first and second eras were so essentially different that it is doing him a great injustice to pay no attention to the change of attitude on his part, which took place at the close of the transition period between 1849 and 1854. To continue the story of his political career as if nothing had elapsed during these intervening years except an "interval of time" makes him just another ambitious politician.

The first epoch gives us no startling phenomena to analyze, which would imply that Lincoln had any ambition in gaining a seat in the legislature other than the satisfying of his own personal desire for recognition. He said, "If elected I shall be thankful, if not it will be all the same." Nothing in his preliminary notice that he would be a candidate, indicates that he had any "axe to grind," any reform to advocate, or any unusual sentiments and political principles to publicize. Later, in a much more extensive announcement, his appeal for support was largely based on his practical knowledge of the Internal Improvement System, gained by the building and navigating of a flatboat, and observing the stage of the water in the Sangamon river. On two other questions, one about rates of interest and the other education, he had no innovations to offer, and concerning "existing laws" he remarked, "Considering the great probability that the framers of those laws were wiser than myself, I should prefer not to meddle with them."

Furthermore, he was very frank in stating that his great ambition at that time was to gain the esteem of his fellowmen by proving himself worthy of their confidence. He was so successful in gaining the good will of the people that they continued to support him politically until he had served four terms in the legislature and then they sent him to Congress, the lone Whig from Illinois.

During his term in the legislature he made an unusual protest about the powers of Congress with respect to slavery, but did not follow through with any aggressive action. His congressional term seemed to offer little opportunity for sponsoring any constructive legislation, as in-

ternal improvements, the Mexican War and politics were in the foreground. He did, however, in his speech at Worcester, Massachusetts, on his way home from the long session of Congress, have a few words to say on the extension of slavery. This theme was again taken up when he returned for the short session of Congress and on January 6, 1849, he presented an amendment that looked forward to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. If Abraham Lincoln had any hopes of making some outstanding contribution to the solution of the slavery question, they must have faded out with his return to his law practice in 1849. After the consummation of the land office and Oregon appointments, which served as the anti-climax of his congressional term, the first era of Lincoln's political efforts came to a close. We might say that he buried his own political desires, if he had any, along with the body of the recently deceased President Taylor, for whom he had put forth his best efforts, to have elected.

For five years after the congressional term, Lincoln stated that he went to the practice of law "with greater earnestness than ever" and that in 1854 "his profession had almost superseded the thought of politics in his mind when the Missouri Compromise aroused him as he had never been before." The above quotation is his own account of the second epoch given to us in his own words told in the third person. He also stated that, "his speeches at once attracted a more marked attention than they had ever before done."

No one has emphasized sufficiently the tremendous change which took place in Lincoln's thinking at this time. Howell in his Lincoln book states "Ambition could not tempt him," and these words were left standing by Lincoln after reading the copy. Ambition, the motivating influence of the first epoch, was dead and from its ashes came the new flame of patriotism. As Howell puts it, "It required the more thrilling voice of danger to freedom, to call the veteran of so many good fights into this field."

At the close of the senatorial campaign in 1858, Lincoln made a speech at Springfield in which he used these words: "Ambition has been ascribed to me. God knows how sincerely I prayed from the first that this field of ambition might not be opened." He then admitted that he claimed "no insensibility" to political honors, but qualified his personal ambition by this remarkable affirmation: "Today could the Missouri restriction be restored, and the whole slavery question be replaced on the old ground of 'toleration,' by necessity where it exists, with unyielding hostility to the spread of it, on principle, I would, in consideration, gladly agree, that Judge Douglas should never be out, and I never in, an office, so long as we both, or either, live."

Those who have portrayed Abraham Lincoln as a selfish, scheming, politician will undoubtedly account for this statement by asserting that it was just some campaign talk. To most people, however, who still like to believe in Lincoln's proverbial integrity, it was the pronouncement of a new epoch. Ambition for office had given way to a patriotic passion for country which found expression in his oft repeated slogan, "No extension of slavery," and which later changed to the slogan on which he waged a civil war, "The Union must be preserved."

LINCOLN LORE

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Dr. Louis A. Warren, Editor

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MEN AND MEASURES OF THE THIRTIETH CONGRESS

The two most important years in the training of Abraham Lincoln for the presidency were those spent as a member of the lower branch of the Thirtieth Congress which convened in the Nation's capitol on December 6, 1847, and closed its second session on March 3, 1849. It has been true especially in the life of Lincoln that human interest incidents have been emphasized to such an extent that they have obscured many of the less colorful but more important episodes in his career.

The rebuilding of the little village of New Salem, Illinois, has focused unwarranted attention on the brief period Lincoln spent there, largely due to the purely fictitious love affair with Ann Rutledge. The traditional romance has been given more emphasis for that period than Lincoln's attendance at the sessions of the legislature in the state capitol, where he associated with the outstanding citizens of Illinois. A day spent in the legislature at Vandalia was far more valuable for Lincoln's intellectual advancement than a week spent in a grocery store among the humble people of New Salem.

Great stress has been placed upon the activities of Lincoln while traveling the eighth judicial circuit and particular attention has been directed to the influence upon him of outstanding lawyers with whom he journeyed from court to court. It is sheer provincialism to attempt to draw any comparison between the mental caliber of the men who Lincoln met in the county seat towns of Illinois, and those most brilliant minds of the nation with whom he was in constant touch at Washington during the Thirtieth Congress.

Without the training afforded and without the acquaintances made during the congressional session in 1847, 1848, and 1849, it is almost impossible to think of Lincoln being qualified to direct the affairs of the Nation in 1861. His ability to cope with both domestic and foreign policies and his selection of men from divergent groups, who could keep the ship of state afloat during its stormiest cruise, was greatly enhanced by his one congressional term.

A few of the personalities in the Thirtieth Congress with whom Lincoln came in contact, many of whom were more closely associated with, or opposed to, him in his higher office a dozen years later, are mentioned with a brief notation about them.

Men

Adams, Green, (H), Kentucky—Appointed sixth auditor by Lincoln.
Adams, John Quincy, (H), Massachusetts—Former President and venerable member of the House.
Ashmun, George, (H), Massachusetts—Chairman of Rep. Convention in 1860.
Bell, John, (S), Tennessee—Union candidate for V. Pres. 1860.
Calhoun, John C., (S), South Carolina—Tyler's Secretary of State.
Cameron, Simon, (S), Pennsylvania—Lincoln's Secretary of War.
Cass, Lewis, (S), Michigan—Opposed Taylor for presidency.
Cobb, Howell, (H), Georgia—Chairman of seceding states convention.
Collamer, Jacob, (H), Vermont—Postmaster General under Taylor.
Corwin, Thomas, (S), Ohio—Lincoln's minister to Mexico.
Crittenden, John J., (S), Kentucky—Attorney General for both Harrison and Filmore.

Davis, Jefferson, (S), Mississippi—President of the Confederacy.
Dayton, William L., (S), New Jersey—Republican candidate for V. Pres. 1856.
Douglas, Stephen A., (S), Illinois—Candidate for presidency 1860.
Giddings, Joshua R., (H), Ohio—Lincoln's consul general to Canada.
Goggin, William L., (H), Virginia—Chairman of Post Office and Post Roads Committee under whom Lincoln served.
Greeley, Horace, (H), New York—Defeated by Grant for Presidency in 1872.
Hale, John P., (S), New Hampshire—Free Soil V. Pres. candidate 1852.
Hunt, Washington, (H), New York—Chairman of last National Whig Convention in 1856.
Hunter, R. M. T., (S), Virginia—Confederate Secretary of State.
Johnson, Andrew, (H), Tennessee—Lincoln's V. Pres. second term. Succeeded Lincoln to presidency.
Johnson, Reverdy, (S), Maryland—Taylor's Attorney General.
Marsh, George P., (H), Vermont—Minister to Italy under Lincoln.
Palfrey, John G., (H), Massachusetts—Appointed by Lincoln as Postmaster of Boston 1861.
Schenck, Robert C., (H), Ohio—Minister to Great Britain, 1870-1876.
Smith, Caleb B., (H), Indiana—Lincoln's Secretary of the Interior.
Stephens, Alexander H., (H), Georgia—Vice President of Confederacy.
Thompson, Richard W., (H), Indiana—Refused seat on bench of the Court of Claims offered by Pres. Lincoln.
Toombs, Robert, (H), Georgia—Secretary of State of the Confederacy.
Tuck, Amos, (H), New Hampshire—Appointed as naval officer, post of Boston.
Webster, Daniel, (S), Massachusetts—Tyler's Secretary of State.
Wilmot, David, (H), Pennsylvania—Author of Wilmot Proviso.
Winthrop, Robert C., (H), Massachusetts—Speaker of the House, 30th Congress.

Measures

Some of the subjects chosen from among many important measures which were discussed in Lincoln's hearing, or in which he joined in the arguments before the House are submitted:

Abolition of slavery in District of Columbia. Amending Constitution in relation to electing president and vice president. Capital punishment. Plans for census of 1850. Charter of the City of Washington. Consular system in China and Turkey. Diplomatic intercourse with foreign nations. Duties on luxuries. Flogging in the Navy. Franking privileges. Importation of iron. Importation of slaves. Internal improvements. International exchanges.

Judicial system of U. S. Juvenile delinquents. Maury's ocean trails. Origin and conduct of Mexican war. Pension laws. Pre-emption laws. Public works on harbors and rivers. Relinquishment of school lands. Tariff act of 1846. Territorial governments of Oregon, California and New Mexico. Transportation of mail on Sabbath. Treaties between U. S. and China. War bounty land warrants.

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CONGRESSMAN LINCOLN'S COMMITTEE WORK

On the fourth day in which the Thirtieth Congress was in session Abraham Lincoln, the new representative from Illinois, heard his name read as a member of the "Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads." Associated with him in this group were: Coggens, of Virginia, chairman; Root, of Ohio; C. Brown, of Pennsylvania; St. John, of New York; Phelps, of Missouri; Embree, of Indiana; Jones, of Tennessee; and, Kaufman, of Texas.

It will be recalled that Lincoln for a short space of time, about a dozen years before, had been a postmaster at New Salem and this fact may have been responsible for his being named for the postal assignment. Some biographers have referred to the Committee on Post Office and Post Roads as an unimportant appointment, but be that as it may, it was evidently the busiest committee of the session, as far as the number of petitions referred to it are concerned.

It is by virtue of Lincoln's membership on this committee that we are able to present what is likely his first official act in his new capacity as a Congressman. On January 19, 1848, after the House had been in session less than a month, the Journal reveals this entry.

"Mr. Lincoln from the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, made a report upon a petition of William Fuller and Orlando Saltmarsh, accompanied by a bill (No. 92) for their relief which bill was read a first and second time, committed to a committee of the Whole House, made the order of the day for tomorrow, and the bill and report ordered to be printed."

The Foundation is fortunate, indeed, to have an original copy of this bill separately printed and it covers two pages. The title caption of the bill appears as follows: Thirtieth Congress—First Session/Report No. 102/(To accompany H. R. No. 92)/House of Representatives/William Fuller and Orlando Saltmarsh/January 19, 1848./Mr. Lincoln, from the Committee on the Post Office and Post/Roads, made the following/Report.

The importance of this bill, inasmuch as it is evidently drawn by Lincoln and also his first piece of government business put in print, seems of sufficient importance to print in full:

"Committee on the Post Offices and Post Roads, to whom was referred the petition of Messrs. Saltmarsh and Fuller, report:

"That, as proved to their satisfaction, the mail routes from Milledgeville to Athens, and from Warrenton to Decatur, in the State of Georgia, (numbered 2366 and 2380,) were let to Reeside & Avery at \$1,300 per annum for the former, and \$1,500 for the latter, for the term of four years, to commence on the 1st day of January, 1835; that, previous to the time for commencing the service, Reeside sold his interest therein to Avery; that, on the 11th of May, 1835, Avery sold the whole to these petitioners, Saltmarsh & Fuller, to take effect from the beginning, January 1, 1835; that, at this time, the Assistant Postmaster General, being called on for that purpose, consented to the transfer of the contracts from Reeside & Avery to these petitioners, and promised to have proper entries of the transfer made on the books of the department, which, however, was neglected to be done; that the petitioners, supposing all was right, in good faith commenced the transportation of the mail on these routes; and, after difficulty arose, still trusting that all would be made right, continued the service till December 1, 1837; that they performed the service to the entire satisfaction of the department, and have never been paid any thing for it except \$____; that the difficulty occurred as follows: Mr. Barry was Postmaster General at the time of making the contracts and the attempted transfer of them. Mr. Kendall suc-

ceeded Mr. Barry, and finding Reeside apparently in debt to the department, and these contracts still standing in the names of Reeside & Avery, refused to pay for the service under them, otherwise than by credits to Reeside; afterwards, however, he divided the compensation, still crediting one-half to Reeside, and directing the other to be paid to the order of Avery, who disclaimed all right to it. After discontinuing the service, these petitioners, supposing they might have legal redress against Avery, brought suit against him at New Orleans; in which suit they failed, on the ground that Avery had complied with his contract, having done so much towards the transfer as they had accepted and been satisfied with. Still later, the department sued Reeside on his supposed indebtedness, and by a verdict of the jury it was determined that the department was indebted to him in a sum much beyond all the credits given him on the account above stated. Under these circumstances, the committee consider the petitioners clearly entitled to relief, and they report a bill accordingly; lest, however, there should be some mistake as to the amount which they have already received, we so frame it as that, by adjustment at the department, they may be paid so much as remain unpaid for service actually performed by them—not charging them with the credits given to Reeside. The committee think it not improbable that the petitioners purchased the right of Avery to be paid for the service from the first of January, till their purchase in May 11, 1835; but, the evidence on this point being very vague, they forebear to report in favor of allowing it."

"On the morrow," however, Mr. Broadhead announced the death of Hon. John W. Hornbeck, a member of Congress, and the House voted to adjourn to the following day. It was not until the last of May before Lincoln's bill again was considered. When Bill 92 was again ordered to be reported, a week later on June 2 "the bill being engrossed was read a third time and passed." So Lincoln had the satisfaction of seeing the first bill he introduced in Congress meet with approval.

It must have given Mr Lincoln much pleasure to introduce on January 25, 1848 "a memorial of citizens of Scott County, in the State of Illinois, praying for the establishment of a mail route from St. Louis, in the State of Missouri, to Jacksonville, in the State of Illinois." Another petition which would recall his own service as a postmaster was submitted by him for the citizens of Cass County, Illinois, who petitioned for a "mail route from Virginia in Cass County to Petersburg in Menard County."

Another bill which Mr. Lincoln presented as a member of the Post Office Committee was Bill No. 301, authorizing "postmasters in county seats of justice to receive subscriptions for newspapers and periodicals to be paid through the agency of the Post Office Department."

February 19, 1849 was apparently a busy day for the Whig representative from Illinois as he presented as many as five resolutions. Of special interest was one petition by the Illinois Legislature "in favor of a uniform rate of letter postage of five cents."

The last business which Lincoln had before the House, as a member of the Post Office and Post Roads Committee, was with reference to Bill No. 399 entitled, "An act to define the period of disability imposed upon certain bidders for mail contracts." Mr. Lincoln reported the bill referred to the Senate back to the House without amendment. Mr. Lincoln read the bill for the third time and it was passed. This action was taken three days before the session closed.

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CONGRESSMAN LINCOLN OBSERVES CONGRESSMAN JOHNSON

Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson were both members of the Thirtieth Congress which convened on December 6, 1847. For two sessions they were constantly brought together day by day in the assembly room of the House. There has been considerable speculation about how much influence, if any, Lincoln exerted to secure Johnson as his running mate in 1864. Would the behavior of the representative from Tennessee during this congressional period be such as would commend him to Mr. Lincoln as a desirable associate on the Presidential ticket notwithstanding the fact that the President had appointed him war governor of Tennessee?

The first business of the assembly after the roll call was the election of a Speaker and the "lone wolf" tendencies of the Tennessean may have impressed Lincoln thus early in the session. Of the 218 representatives voting for a speaker, Johnson on the first ballot, voted with four other members for McKay and the second ballot he joined with three others in voting for Cobb. The third and last ballot he alone voted for Woodward.

Twelve days after the session began, Lincoln first saw Johnson in action. He entered into a debate on a question which was to become his pet peeve for a month or two. Through a bequest in the will of James Smithson, the United States had received a half a million dollars for the establishment of the institute which was to bear his name. Andrew Johnson had opposed its acceptance because he felt its maintenance would be "an incubus upon the Treasury." He took occasion to ridicule the use of the title "Regent" given its directors, asked what good could result from this institution, and later on presented a resolution calling for a committee to "take into consideration the propriety of so changing and remodelling the present design of the Smithsonian Institute as to convert it into a university."

Both Lincoln and Johnson on Monday, December 20, may have had attention called to each other almost simultaneously as both presented petitions within a few minutes of each other. Lincoln's appeal was on behalf of A. G. Henry of Pekin, Ill., while Johnson's client was Russell Goss. On the following day came the first test vote on a question which was to be pushed to the front many times during the session. It related to the restriction of slavery in the District of Columbia. The balloting proved Lincoln and Johnson on opposite sides of the question and this attitude held good on nearly every subject introduced. On the questions relating to the origin of the Mexican War, internal improvements or any improvements, in fact, the tariff and other legislation, Lincoln and Johnson were invariably in disagreement.

Two government departments came in for severe criticism from Mr. Johnson for asking for appropriations for expansion. His harangue of the clerks in the Pension Office and other government clerks in general whom he designated as a "set of political vampires" was anything but complimentary. Even the providing of additional examiners for the Patent Office where the work was six months behind did not meet with his approval.

On Saturday, April 15, Johnson got into a discussion in which he introduced the subject of the amalgamation of whites and negroes. It became so disgusting that a member of the House arose and objected to the explanations and another member inquired if there was not a special rule "applicable to personal explanation." The reporter of the Congressional Globe stated at the conclusion of Johnson's speech: "Mr. Collamer then claimed the floor and diverted the attention of the House to other business."

On June 20, 1848, a resolution was placed before the House to authorize a committee "to procure a monument

of Quincy granite with suitable inscriptions to be carved and placed in the Congressional burial grounds in memory of John Quincy Adams." It will be remembered that the former President while a member of the Thirtieth Congress was stricken at the Capitol and that Lincoln had been named one of the committee to make funeral arrangements. Andrew Johnson moved the following amendment to the aforesaid resolution "and that the Committee on Accounts be, and they are hereby instructed to report to this House, the entire funeral expenses of the late Hon. John Quincy Adams, and the items composing the same—" In commenting on this resolution Mr. Johnson concluded: "It seemed proof to some extent that something was wanting in the individual when we saw the effort made on the part of legislative bodies to erect spires and monuments to impress the minds of the people." Later on Mr. Johnson again spoke on the Adams memorial project and the reporter for the Congressional Globe states that he "proceeded at some length to oppose the resolution."

An appropriation of \$4,750 for grading and graveling Four-and-a-Half Street from Maryland Ave. to the arsenal also brought forth an objection by Mr. Johnson and which he violently opposed. He questioned the power of the government to make such an appropriation then continued "yet thousands of dollars were spent to lay the dust by sprinkling the street lest it should be offensive to the olfactories of gentlemen."

A resolution was offered which provided for the painting of "the portrait of each of the Presidents of the United States who have been elected since General Washington," the sum total not to exceed ten thousand dollars. The paintings were to be hung in the President's House along with Washington's. In his denunciation of the resolution Johnson was interrupted by the chairman five times to advise him that his "observations were not in order because irrelevant." Johnson finally concluded by moving to "amend the amendment by striking out nine hundred and ninety-nine dollars of the appropriation." The reporter observed: (Several voices: "That leaves just a dollar for the purchase of the portraits.")

At the evening assembly on the last day of session Andrew Johnson again demonstrated an objective attitude which must have placed him in an unfavorable light. Congressman James McDowell of Virginia presented the following resolution: "Resolved: That the thanks of this House are due and are hereby presented to the Honorable Robert C. Winthrop, for the able, impartial, and dignified manner in which he has discharged the duties of Speaker during the present session."

Mr. Johnson of Tennessee moved to amend the resolution by striking out the word "unpartial" and according to the reporter for the Congressional Globe he proceeded "to address the House at length in favor of his amendment." He assailed the administration of the Speaker, especially with reference to "the organization of the committees of the House and to his habitual awards of the floor." The resolution to amend was lost however by a vote 161 to 15. And the original resolution was agreed to.

The editor of Lincoln Lore has carefully searched the records, but without success, for any constructive legislation introduced by Johnson during the session, or any contribution he made which would leave a favorable impression upon Mr. Lincoln while he served with him during the Thirtieth Congress. It must have been in spite of Johnson's very repugnant behavior that Lincoln accepted him as a running mate in 1864 and we can hardly believe he was nominated on Lincoln's recommendation.

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PEACE PROBLEMS A CENTURY AGO

A hundred years ago we were at war with Mexico and Abraham Lincoln was a member of Congress during part of the hostilities and also at the time peace was negotiated. Lincoln's "Spot Resolutions" have so overshadowed his other reactions to the Mexican situation that we have failed to appreciate his efforts put forth in the war enterprise.

It was erroneously charged during the Presidential campaign of 1860 that Lincoln withheld his influence and his vote in the attempt to bring the Mexican war to a successful conclusion. Not only do we have testimony to the contrary but his votes have also been recorded on the measures which have to do with the war needs. While he was confident the war was unnecessarily and unconstitutionally commenced by the President it had his sincere and constant support when it was once underway. Lincoln wrote to a friend "While the Whigs condemn the President for beginning the war they consistently vote supplies."

Aside from Lincoln's appointment to the Committee of the Post Office and Post Roads, he was also placed on the Committee on Expenditures in the War Department. With the war already in its second year one can imagine how busy this committee would be in handling war claims and disbursements. That he was an active participant in the work of the committee is evident from the fact that on behalf of the committee he introduced on January 17, 1848, a bill of amendment associated with "an act to raise for a limited time an additional military force and for other purposes."

Four days after the aforesaid resolution was read he presented a petition of Uriah Brown: "Praying for a further testing of his discovery of 'Liquid Fire' to be used in national defense." Still further anxious to make available all necessary equipment for the fighting forces on Monday, April 3, 1848, Mr. Lincoln moved that the rules be suspended for the purpose of proceeding to the consideration of the resolution from the Senate (no. 14) "respecting contracts for hemp for use of the American navy." The vote 81-68 did not give the required two-thirds majority and was lost. On the following June 15, the question came up of providing floating dry docks for the navy yards at Philadelphia, Pensacola, and Kittery. Lincoln cast his vote in favor of the project but there were 48 votes against it.

Evidently the religious body known as the Society of Friends was as active then in advocating peace as it has been in these more recent years. The New England yearly meeting of the organization presented a memorial to Congress on February 10, 1848, for the speedy termination of the war with Mexico. Shortly after this initial move on the part of the Society of Friends, Amos Tuck who later became closely associated with Lincoln presented the following preamble and resolution:

"Whereas, the evils of war, in its consequences upon individuals, and upon the virtue, happiness, and prosperity of nations, have long been acknowledged, and are

now attracting the attention of many humane and enlightened citizens of this and other countries. And whereas, it is the wish of the people of the United States that our government should evince a readiness to encourage all well-directed efforts to preclude the occurrence of war, and to co-operate with other nations in all judicious exertions intended to promote perpetual and universal peace. Therefore:

"Resolved, That it be recommended to the Executive to propose to all governments with whom we maintain diplomatic relations, and with whom we have no such stipulations already, the formation of new treaties, providing in a safe and honorable manner for the settlement, by arbitration and peaceable award, of all disagreements and difficulties that may hereafter arise."

On Thursday, July 6, 1848, President Polk submitted to the Senate and House of Representatives "Copies of a treaty of peace, friendships, limits, and settlements between the United States and the Mexican republic, the ratifications of which were duly exchanged at the city of Queretaro, Mexico, on the 30th of May, 1848".

Every generation is under the impression that the events which it has been able to observe have overshadowed the high points of all past achievements. Such a conclusion may be correctly drawn in a progressive and evolutionary civilization. It is doubtful however, if the present war era, even with its discovery of atomic energy, presents a wider divergence of interest than has occurred between war intervals during the past generations since the beginning of the industrial age. Certainly our provincialism will not blind us to the fact that the next generation will pity us for having lived too soon.

The Mexican War was the climax of an era which is visualized in an address made at the close of the Thirtieth Congress by Robert E. Winslow, Speaker of the House. The close of business came at a night session on March 3, 1849, and after the Speaker thanked the members of the House for the "uniform courtesy and confidence" which had been manifested toward him, he concluded with these interesting observations.

"We have been associated, gentlemen, during a most eventful period in the history of our country, and of the world. It would be difficult to designate another era in the modern annals of mankind, which has been signalized by so rapid a succession of startling political changes.

"Let us rejoice that while the powers of the earth have almost everywhere else been shaken, that, while more than one of the mightiest monarchies and stateliest empires of Europe have tottered, or have fallen, our own American republic has stood firm.

"Let us rejoice at the evidence which has thus been furnished to the friends of liberty throughout the world of the inherent stability of institutions which are founded on the rock of a written constitution and which are sustained by the will of a free and intelligent people."

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A COMPENDIUM OF CONGRESSMAN LINCOLN'S ACTS

A general idea of Abraham Lincoln's activities as a Congressman can best be visualized by arranging in the form of a compendium certain subjects occupying his attention which are recorded in the House Journal and the Congressional Record. There is no attempt to tabulate Lincoln's votes on various issues.

First Session

1847

Dec. 9. Appointed on Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads. Also on the Committee of Expenditures in the War Department.

Dec. 20. Submits petition of A. G. Henry of Pekin, Ill. "praying reimbursement for expenses in supplying volunteers."

Dec. 20. Gives notice of a motion for leave to introduce a bill of amendment to an act entitled "An act to raise for a limited time an additional military force and for other purposes."

Dec. 22. Presents memorial of citizens of Illinois on behalf of Great Western Railroad.

Dec. 22. Offers the preamble and resolution with reference to the beginning of the Mexican War known as the "Spot Resolutions".

1848

Jan. 4. Presents memorial of citizens of Alton, Ill. relating to relinquishment of certain lands.

Jan. 5. Replies to Botts of Virginia in support of Postmaster General.

Jan. 6. Explains attitude of P. O. Committee on Botts's accusations.

Jan. 11. Obtains floor but House adjourns before he had opportunity to speak.

Jan. 12. Attacks Polk's war policy.

Jan. 13. Obtains floor to introduce Bill no. 89, an act referred to on December 20th.

Jan. 19. Reports upon petition of William Fuller and Orlando Saltmarsh (Post Office Committee).

Jan. 21. Submits petition of Uriah Brown "praying for a further testing of his discovery of 'Liquid Fire' to be used in national defenses."

Jan. 24. Submits petition of John Dawson "praying remuneration for his services as acting pension agent."

Jan. 25. Presents petition of citizens of Scott County, Ill. "praying for establishment of mail route."

Feb. 7. Presents petition of citizens of Tazewell County, Ill. "praying for reduction of postage on government publications and certain newspapers."

Feb. 14. Presents petition of citizens of Illinois "praying for grant of public lands for railroad."

Feb. 14. Presents petition of citizens of Illinois "praying that soldiers of war of 1812 and Mexican war share alike in relation to bounty land."

Feb. 15. Presents petition of Daniel Wadsworth, of Auburn, Ill. "praying for an increase of compensation to certain postmasters."

Feb. 18. Presents petition of citizens of Edgar County, Ill. "praying for a reduction of postage on certain mail."

Feb. 24. Appointee on committee to "Superintend the funeral solemnities of John Quincy Adams."

Feb. 26. Marches with "Committee of Arrangements" in funeral procession of John Quincy Adams.

March 1. Presents memorial from citizens of Cass County, Ill. "praying for the establishment of a mail route."

March 6. Presents petition of Hickon and Brothers "praying compensation for service in transporting Illinois volunteers."

March 9. Presents petition of H. M. Barney accompanied by joint resolution no. 18.

March 29. Makes speech on military Bounty Lands.

April 3. Moves to suspend rules and proceed to consider resolution "respecting contracts for hemp for the use of the American navy."

April 29. Presents memorial of Archibald McAllister relating to a patent.

May 11. Moves to reconsider bill admitting Wisconsin to the Union.

May 11. Speaks on policy of granting alternate sections of land.

May 12. Debates the bill for selling claims of estate of Richard W. Mead deceased.

May 30. Moves the previous question in routine business.

June 20. Speaks in favor of internal improvements.

July 13. Moves previous question on remittance of fines of absentees.

July 19. Reports Bill 599 to establish certain post roads.

July 19. Speaks on aforesaid bill.

July 19. Moves that the vote on passage of the bill be reconsidered.

July 24. Obtains floor to speak but gives way to committee.

July 27. Delivers his famous coat-tail speech against Cass.

Aug. 8. Reports resolution from Post Office Committee on disability.

Aug. 14. Announces that committee on expenditures in War Department has prepared report on Taylor expeditions.

Second Session

1848

Dec. 11. Reappointed on committee of Post Office and Post Roads.

Dec. 23. Appointed on Select committee for erection of monument at Yorktown.

Dec. 27. Calls for division of question on motion respecting absentees.

Jan. 8. Gives notice to introduce bill on school lands.

Jan. 10. Reads amendment which he proposes to make on bill abolishing slavery in District of Columbia.

Jan. 13. Gives notice of a bill to abolish slavery in District of Columbia with compensation to owners.

Jan. 29. Presents memorial from citizens of Illinois relating to land grants for railroads.

Feb. 13. Presents five memorials from citizens of Illinois relating to land grants for railroads.

Feb. 19. Requests unanimous consent to present joint resolutions of the Illinois Legislature asking grants of land to aid in construction of railroads.

Feb. 19. Presents resolution in favor of uniform rate of letter postage of five cents.

Feb. 19. Presents resolutions in relation to erecting a marine hospital at Rock Island, Ill.

Feb. 19. Presents resolutions in relation to the improvements of western rivers and lakes.

Feb. 19. Presents resolutions in relation to pre-emption of lands granted for internal improvements.

Feb. 19. Presents petition of citizens of Woodford County, Ill. in behalf of donation for Conrad Summer.

Feb. 19. Presents petition of citizens of Fayette County, Ill. for protection of emigrants.

Feb. 28. Reports Senate Bill no. 399 back to House without amendment and moved the previous question.

Feb. 28. Presents petition of citizens of Morgan County, Ill. to abolish slavery in District of Columbia.

Congressman Lincoln, '47-'49

By James E. Warner

WASHINGTON, Feb. 8.—Abraham Lincoln, who rose to international and undying fame as the martyred war President of the United States, was a relatively obscure member of the House of Representatives during his single term in the Thirtieth Congress, from Dec. 6, 1847, to March 3, 1849.

The first session of the Thirtieth Congress lasted for 251 days—until Aug. 14, 1848. During this session Mr. Lincoln was mentioned twenty-seven times in the Congressional Record. The second session, convening Dec. 4, 1848, lasted eighty-nine days and Mr. Lincoln obtained mention in the Record ten times.

Apparently the relatively young Mr. Lincoln—he was then only thirty-eight years old—fell under the spell of his political seniors in the Whig party, who were then sniping against the Democratic President, James K. Polk, for his conduct of the war against Mexico. The war had been a popular one generally, but it was obvious that the Whig leaders were seeking to make political capital of it to some degree, and the only Whig Representative from Illinois joined their campaign.

On Dec. 22, 1847, he presented resolutions, pungently if not bitterly phrased, calling upon President Polk to inform the House of Representatives of the causes and details of the beginning of the war with Mexico. He questioned statements made by the President in his war message of May 11, 1846, and in subsequent communications.

One historian of this era in Lincoln's life, commenting on the resolutions, said that Representative Lincoln demanded to know "whether or not the spot on which the blood of American citizens have been overtly shed was or was not American territory in any sense, however remote."

"He also, very acidly," continued this historian, "asked if it were not true that those very American citizens whose blood was shed were members of the armed forces of the United States of America sent into a Mexican settlement in spite of the fact that their commanding general, a Whig, had stated that no such step was necessary for the defense of American interests."

Mr. Lincoln's resolutions were not

adopted but a resolution later presented by a Massachusetts Whig was passed by the close vote of 82 to 81 with the future President being recorded in favor of it. This described the war with Mexico as having been started by President Polk "unnecessarily and unconstitutionally." On Jan. 12, 1848, Mr. Lincoln made a long speech in the House attacking the President's conduct of the war, and describing Mr. Polk as a "bewildered, confounded and miserably perplexed man."

Another sidelight on Lincoln, the Congressional politician, was afforded in a speech made by him July 27, 1848. He was defending General Taylor, Whig Presidential candidate, against General Cass, Democratic candidate, and pulled no punches in attacking the fiscal and mess accounts of the latter. With sarcasm and irony, Mr. Lincoln said:

"But I have introduced General Cass's accounts here, chiefly, to show the wonderful physical capacity of the man. They show that he not only did the labor of several men at the same time, but that he often did it at several places many hundreds of miles apart, at the same time.

"And at eating, too, his capacities are shown to be quite as wonderful. From October, 1821, to May, 1822, he ate ten rations a day in Michigan, ten rations a day here in Washington, and near five dollars' worth a day besides, partly on the road between the two places.

"And then there is an important discovery in his example—the art of being paid for what one eats, instead of having to pay for it. Hereafter, if any nice young man is charged of a bill which he cannot pay in any other way, he can just board it out.

"Mr. Speaker, we have all heard of the animal standing in doubt between two stacks of hay, and starving to death; the like of that would never happen to General Cass. Place the stacks a thousand miles apart, he would stand stock still midway between them, and eat them both at once; and the green grass along the line would be apt to suffer some, too, at the same time.

"By all means make him your President, gentlemen. He will feed you bounteously. If—if there is any left after he shall have helped himself."

Lincoln 'Unknown' Before 1860

By a Staff Correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

As the nation observes the anniversary of the man whom many consider the greatest American, it may note in this presidential election year that when Abraham Lincoln received the Republican nomination in 1860, his service in important public office had been much briefer than that of any of the men now being seriously considered for the nomination in 1948.

Lincoln's only outstanding public position had been as a Representative from Illinois for one term, and that had ended more than 10 years before he was nominated for President. He had served for some years in the Illinois Legislature, but had failed to get the Republican vice-presidential nomination in 1856, and in 1858 had been rejected by the Legislature in favor of Stephen A. Douglas as United States Senator from Illinois.

Compare that record in public office with the records of a Taft, a Dewey, a Stassen, a Vandenberg, a Warren, a Joseph Martin, or the military record of General MacArthur!

Record Unconspicuous

Lincoln was the only Whig Representative elected from Illinois in 1846. To get the nomination, he had to agree not to run two years later. His record in Washington was undistinguished, like that of most first-term representatives.

The 36-year-old country lawyer was far from the Lincoln who was to be revealed in the debates with Douglas, in the Cooper Union speech, in the Presidency. In his term in the House, he introduced only two measures worth recalling today.

The first was the "Spot Resolution" of Dec. 22, 1847. President Polk had announced to Congress that Mexico had "consummated her long course of outrage against

our country by commencing an offensive war and shedding the blood of our citizens on our own soil."

Lincoln's resolution demanded that the President tell the "exact spot" on which American blood had been shed, and whether this was not in fact on Mexican soil to which American soldiers had been sent. The House did not act on the resolution.

Alleged "Traitor"

On Jan. 3, 1848, Lincoln declared that the Mexican War had been "unnecessarily begun by the President"—the position of his party. Back home, he was accused of having pleaded the cause of the enemy and was called "a second Benedict Arnold." But he voted for all war appropriations.

In arguing against the Mexican War, Lincoln made statements he was later to repudiate as to secession. On Jan. 12, 1848, he supported on the House floor the right of "any people" or "a majority of any portion of such people" to "shake off the existing government and form a new one."

As for slavery, Representative Lincoln found no Federal power to abolish it in states where it already existed. (In 1837, as a member of the Illinois Legislature, Lincoln had stated that "the right of property in slaves is sacred to the slave-holding states under the Federal Constitution.") He opposed slavery in places where he believed the Federal Government could prevent it (in the territories) or abolish it (in the District of Columbia).

Anti-Slavery Bill

The second measure of note introduced by Representative Lincoln was a bill to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. Abolition was to be gradual, with compensation to slave owners, and only upon approval by the citizens of the District at a special election. The bill was not enacted.

In the summer of 1848, after Zachary Taylor had been nominated for President by the Whigs and Lewis Cass by the Democrats, the Whig member from Illinois treated the House to a pro-Taylor and anti-Cass harangue, which even Lincoln's admirers admit was better suited to the stump. At the end of his term in March, 1849, he failed in his effort to be appointed Commissioner of the Land Office, and went back to the practice of law.

House Freshman Abe Plugged for His Voters

By the Associated Press

In some ways Congress hasn't changed since Abraham Lincoln was a one-term Representative 110 years ago. It investigated things then and it's still in the investigating business.

But in many other ways time has brought enormous changes to Capitol Hill.

What, for example, would Lincoln have thought of the batteries of television cameras that covered today's joint session of the House and Senate—a joint session called to mark his 150th birthday anniversary?

Abe Lincoln was a gangling, bony, clean-shaven man not yet 40 when he was elected as a Whig to the 30th Congress. He represented an Illinois district that still was pretty much in the backwoods. From 1847 to 1849, Lincoln held that House seat. He did not try for re-election.

He didn't make much of a dent while in Congress, giving little indication that he would be President of the United States 12 years later.

In his one House speech of any consequence, Lincoln spoke against the Mexican War—an action that opened him to charges in later years that he had sided with an enemy of his

country. But Lincoln replied he had taken his party's position.

For a period, he was a member of a committee that investigated what had been done about erecting a marble monument ordered by Congress to commemorate the surrender of British forces at Yorktown in the Revolutionary War. The monument eventually was built.

House records show Lincoln served on two regular committees, one dealing with War Department spending and the other concerned with post offices and post roads.

He introduced four bills and one resolution—and his batting average in getting action on them was pretty good for a freshman.

Two bills and the resolution became law. They concerned individuals' claims against the Government and establishment of certain post routes.

Even then people were asking Congress for this and that.

Records show Lincoln forwarded 20 petitions and memorials to the House.

One petition was from a Uriah Brown "praying for a further testing of his discovery of 'liquid fire' to be used in national defences (sic)." The Committee on Naval Affairs rejected the idea.

For his two years in the House Lincoln received \$2,728. Today he'd get \$22,500 a year.

Abraham Lincoln As Congressman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 11, 1952

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, each of the 5 years it has been my honor and responsibility to be a Member of this great legislative body at the time of the anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, I have been favored by being granted the unanimous consent of my colleagues of this House of Representatives to give some of the ways this enduring "citizen of the ages" has left his imprint upon the destiny of our beloved Nation and of the world. Tomorrow, February 12, is the one hundred and forty-third birthday of Abraham Lincoln.

It is too little realized that Abraham Lincoln was a Member of this House of Representatives from the State of Illinois from March 4, 1848, to March 4, 1849. I have asked the Congressional Library to give me a very brief account of what the record shows in this regard, and it follows:

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AS CONGRESSMAN

Abraham Lincoln was elected as a Whig to the Thirtieth Congress, March 4, 1847, to March 3, 1849, from the Seventh Illinois District, comprising the counties of Putnam, Marshall, Woodford, Tazewell, Mason, Menard, Cass, Morgan, Scott, Logan, and Sangamon. He did not seek renomination in 1848.

While in Congress Lincoln lived at Mrs. Sprigg's¹ boarding house on Capitol Hill where the Library of Congress now stands. Other Congressmen living at the same place were John Blanchard, John Dickey, A. R. McIlvaine, James Pollock, John Strohm, all

¹This is the spelling in the Congressional Directory of the time. Ida M. Tarbell has "Spriggs's."

from Pennsylvania, P. W. Tompkins, of Mississippi, J. R. Giddings, of Ohio, and Ellisha Embree, of Indiana.

Some of Lincoln's colleagues in the House were Amos Abbott and John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts; Howell Cobb, Alexander H. Stephens, and Robert Toombs, of Georgia; R. B. Rhett, of South Carolina; Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee; and David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania. Other Illinois Congressmen were Robert Smith, of Alton; John M. McClelland, of Shawneetown; Orlando B. Ficklin, of Charleston; John Wentworth, of Chicago; William A. Richardson, of Rushville; Thomas J. Turner, of Freeport. The Senators from Illinois were Sidney Breese, of Carlyle, and Stephen A. Douglas, of Quincy. Lincoln was appointed to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads and to the Committee on Expenditures in the War Department.

The principal issues of the day were the War with Mexico, the extension of slavery, and the Wilmot Proviso, westward migration, increased by discovery of gold in California, internal improvements by the Federal Government, and relations with the Indians. For Lincoln's remarks on the floor of the House, and for his voting record, see the typed reports by J. M. Anderson, inclosed herewith.

(Sources: Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1928. Congressional Directory, 30th Cong., 1st sess. and 2d sess. Tarbell, Ida M., *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1923, vol. I, pp. 207-224.)

(H. E. Snide, General Research Section, January 13, 1949.)

Mr. Speaker, on yesterday, Sunday, as I again sat in the Ford Theater, where the assassin in deceit and tragedy shot him, it was again borne upon me that no doubt much of the history and destiny of our beloved Nation was changed economically, socially, and politically, as a result of the effectiveness of the assassin's bullet.

As I sat there in the immediate presence of the museum items so intimately connected with the life and death of Lincoln and with the trailing and capture and death of John Wilkes Booth, the assassin, I understood why it was that I, as a very young lad in the elementary grades of the public schools in my native State of California, instead of studying what I was given to study, had sat at my desk in the rear of the room and made crude drawings of Abraham Lincoln's majestic head and the sympathetic brow and features which distinguished him.

I urge every Member of Congress, as often as may be, to visit the three particular historical places in connection with the life and experiences of Abraham Lincoln as a Member of Congress and as President of the United States, to wit: First, the Ford Theater, where he was assassinated, located at 511 Tenth Street NW.; second, the tailor shop where he died, located at 516 Tenth Street NW.—just across the street from the Ford Theater; and third, the famous Lincoln Memorial, the location of which is well-known to all of us. These three traditional places are all within 10 minutes from this House of Representatives.

I also urge you in your travels by automobile to visit Lincoln's birthplace in the Abraham Lincoln National Historical Park, just a few minutes from the historical community of Hodgenville, Ky.

I have on several occasions deliberately driven that way to and from California so that I might have the inspiration of walking on the very same earth on which he walked, played, hunted, and gathered wood to keep the family hearthstone warm. The cabin is located in the center of 110 acres of land, 100 acres of which was the original Thomas Lincoln farm site which was acquired by the United States in 1916.

Another place which is very inspiring is the New Salem Village located at New Salem State Park at Petersburg, Ill. I have also visited this historical place going to and from California. That rebuilt village is the situs of the location where Abraham Lincoln went when he was about 22 years of age. There he said he was "a friendless youth working on a flatboat at \$10 a month." He went there in 1831 and left 6 years later for Springfield, Ill., to become a practicing lawyer. Located there is a replica of the store where Lincoln kept store.

Being a member of the Board of Directors of the Lincoln Group of the District of Columbia, I hereby extend to each of you an invitation to become a member of this group. You will be doing a great public service to yourself and to the principles for which Abraham Lincoln will ever be remembered.

I wish to call to your attention some of the quotations by Lincoln which are famous in history. Accompanying each is a written source thereof. A few of the quotations follow:

Quotation: "I was raised to farm work, which I continued till I was 22." (A. Lincoln.) Source: Lincoln's autobiographical sketch written in a letter to J. W. Fell, December 20, 1859.

Quotation: "I was born and have ever remained in the most humble walks of life. I have no wealthy or popular relations or friends to recommend me." (A. Lincoln.) Source: Lincoln's first public address, New Salem, Ill., March 9, 1832.

Quotation: "Living in Springfield is rather a dull business." (A. Lincoln.) Source: Letter to Mary Owens, May 7, 1837.

Quotation: "Always a Whig in Politics." (A. Lincoln.) Source: Autobiographical sketch in letter to J. W. Fell, December 20, 1859.

Quotation: "I am not an accomplished lawyer, I find quite as much material for a lecture in those points wherein I have failed, as in those wherein I have been moderately successful." (A. Lincoln.) Source: Notes for a law lecture, July 1, 1850 (?) *The Life and Writings of Abraham Lincoln*, Philip Van Doren Stern, page 328.

Quotation: "As I would not be a slave, I would not be a master—this expresses my idea of democracy." (A. Lincoln.) Source: Written about August 1858, Lincoln; *His Life in Photographs*, Stefan Lorant, page 5.

Quotation: "I was losing interest in politics when the repeal of the Missouri Compromise aroused me again." (A. Lincoln.) Source: Autobiography in letter to J. W. Fell, December 20, 1859.

Quotation: "I am glad I made the late race. . . . I believe I have made some marks which will tell for the cause of civil liberty long after I am gone." (A. Lincoln.) Source: Letter to A. G. Henry, November 19, 1858.

Quotation: "Deeply and even painfully sensible of the great responsibility which is inseparable from this high honor." (A. Lincoln.) Source: Reply to committee sent to notify Lincoln of his nomination of President, May 21, 1860.

Quotation: "We could have beaten the Democracy united, divided as it is, its chance appears indeed very slim." (A. Lincoln.) Source: Letter to A. G. Henry, July 4, 1860.

Quotation: "The prospect of Republican success now appears very flattering." (A. Lincoln.) Source: Letter to Hannibal Hamlin, July 18, 1860.

Quotation: ". . . you can vote for me if your neighbors will let you." (A. Lincoln.) Source: Letter to Nathaniel Grigsby, September 20, 1860.

Quotation: "Buchanan . . . is giving away the case, and I have nothing to say and can't stop him." (A. Lincoln.) Source: Said to Judge Joseph Gillespie in January 1861, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*, Ida M. Tarbell (vol. II, p. 24).

Quotation: "It shall be my endeavor to preserve the peace of this country so far as it can possibly be done consistently with the maintenance of the institutions of the country." (A. Lincoln.) Source: Address at Harrisburg, Pa., February 22, 1861.

Quotation: ". . . in contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution, the Union of these States is perpetual." (A. Lincoln.) Source: First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1861.

Quotation: ". . . if you know of any other men who think they are bigger than I am, let me know. I want to put them all in my Cabinet." (A. Lincoln.) Source: Said to a friend in Springfield. *The Life and Writings of Abraham Lincoln*, Philip Van Doren Stern, page 103.

Quotation: ". . . I would rather have Democrats I know than Republicans I don't know." (A. Lincoln.) Source: Said to Judge Joseph Gillespie. *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years*, Carl Sandburg, volume II, page 406.

Quotation: "Now we are engaged in a great civil war." (A. Lincoln.) Source: The Gettysburg Address, November 19, 1863.

Quotation: "My . . . object . . . is to save the union, and not either to save or to destroy slavery." (A. Lincoln.) Source: Letter to Horace Greeley, August 22, 1862.

Quotation: "Upon this act . . . I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God." (A. Lincoln.) Source: Emancipation Proclamation, January 1, 1863.

Quotation: ". . . this Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom." (A. Lincoln.) Source: Gettysburg Address, November 19, 1863.

Quotation: "We should avoid planting and cultivating too many thorns in the bosom of society." (A. Lincoln.) Source: Draft of a letter to Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton, March 18, 1864.

Quotation: "It has demonstrated that a peoples' government can sustain a national election in the midst of a great civil war." (A. Lincoln.) Source: Response to a serenade on the occasion of his reelection, November 10, 1864.

Quotation: "Let us strive on to finish the work we are in." (A. Lincoln.)

Quotation: ". . . to bind up the Nation's wounds." (A. Lincoln.) Source: Second Inaugural Address, March 4, 1865.

A few of my favorite quotations by Lincoln are as follows:

Stand with anyone that stands right. Stand with him while he is right and part with him when he goes wrong. (From a speech at Peoria, Ill., October 16, 1854.)

Let us have faith that right makes might and in that faith let us to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it. (From a speech at Cooper Institute, New York, February 27, 1860.)

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind the Nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphans, to do



Lincoln Lore

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Congressman Lincoln's Social Contacts In Washington, D. C. (December 6, 1847 — March 4, 1849)

Editor's Note: The recent discovery of an invitation in the broadside file of the Lincoln National Life Foundation's library led to the preparation of this article for *Lincoln Lore*. The rare broadside is an invitation to the National Birth-Night Ball, of which Lincoln was one of the managers, to be held on February 22, 1848, but unfortunately postponed until March 1, due to the illness and death of John Quincy Adams.

On December 6, 1847, when Abraham Lincoln took his seat in the Thirtieth Congress of the United States, as a Representative of the Seventh District of Illinois, he probably gave little thought to the social life of the Capital. Very few members of Congress were accompanied by their wives; and most of the balls, parties, receptions and outings were sponsored by government officials rather than by members of Congress.

The social life of Washington during the administration of James K. Polk has been described as "merry, if somewhat rural." In fact, the instability of Washington society made a deep impression upon foreigners who were assigned by their governments to the small capital city of 34,000 inhabitants. While Polk was President, the levees at the White House took on an austerity that repelled. There was no dancing or refreshments of any kind. Under Sarah Childress Polk the Executive Mansion sank into austere and immaculate order. John Fairchild, a United States Senator from Maine, went on record as to the uninteresting presidential levees. He wrote that "I'd rather be whipped than go" but he went from a sense of duty if not good politics.

Lincoln was an exception among congressmen in that his wife and two sons, Robert and Edward Baker, accompanied him. They arrived in the Capital late in the evening of December 2, 1847. They secured temporary lodging at Brown's Hotel which was originally known as the Indian Queen Hotel. Later, they secured rooms at Capitol Hill at Mrs. Benjamin Sprigg's boarding house in Carroll Row, two squares east of the Capitol building. Mrs. Sprigg's boarding house was situated on the present site of the Library of Congress. Here, John T. Stuart, John J. Hardin and Edward D. Baker had lived when they served in Congress from Lincoln's Illinois district.

It was customary at this time for Congressmen to board in small clubs or messes, somewhat on the order of students in college towns. The Washington newspapers of Lincoln's Congressional period are filled with advertisements inserted by boarding house keepers, usually widows, informing the public that they could accommodate a "mess of members with pleasant cham-

bers." Lincoln's messmates were Pennsylvania representatives John Blanchard, John Dickey, A. R. McIlvaine, James Pollock and John Strohm. With the exception of Pollock, who later became governor of Pennsylvania, these men achieved little distinction. Lincoln apparently recognized Pollock's ability because in 1861 he appointed him the director of the mint at Philadelphia.

Three other congressmen at Mrs. Sprigg's were Elisha Embree of Indiana and P. W. Tompkins of Mississippi, men of little note, and Joshua R. Giddings of Ohio, who was "for twenty years (1838-1859) the most distinguished anti-slavery leader of the House." In 1861 Lincoln, during the first year of his presidential term appointed Giddings consul general to Canada, an office he held until his death. All nine of the congressmen were members of the Whig Party.

Other fellow boarders were Duff Green once a member of President Andrew Jackson's "Kitchen Cabinet," Nathan Sargent, a journalist, who wrote under the pen-name of Oliver Oldschool, and Dr. Samuel C. Busey of Washington. Sargent served as sergeant-at-arms in the House of Representatives, and historians are indebted to Dr. Busey for his "Personal Reminiscences and Recollections."

Mrs. Lincoln and the two children stayed several months at Mrs. Sprigg's boarding house but she appeared to be very retiring and was seen only at meal time. Of course, she must have been quite busy taking care of two small children. Robert was four years old and "Eddie" was a year and a half. Apparently, she made some friends (and maybe enemies) because Lincoln wrote her (April 16, 1848) after she returned to her father's home in Lexington, Kentucky, that "All the house — or rather, all with whom you were on decided good terms — send their love to you. The others say nothing."

One evening in middle January of 1848, Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln attended the performance

of the "Ethiopian Serenaders" at Carusi's Saloon, (salon) which was the old Washington Theatre. We can glean from Lincoln's letter of July 2, 1848 to Mrs. Lincoln in Lexington that their attention that evening was diverted from the "Ethiopian Serenaders" to two girls of easy virtue wearing black fur bonnets and who were never seen in close company with other ladies.

Naturally as a Congressman's wife Mrs. Lincoln took little part in the social life of the Capital City. This may account for her return to Lexington as early as April, 1848.

CALENDAR

1847

- Dec. 2 The Lincolns arrive in Washington, D. C.
- Dec. 6 Lincoln takes oath as Representative.

1848

- April Sometime in April Mrs. Lincoln and children leave Washington for Lexington, Kentucky.
- June 6 Lincoln leaves Washington to attend Whig National Convention in Philadelphia, Pa.
- June 10 Lincoln addresses ratification meeting at Wilmington, Delaware.
- June 11 Lincoln returns to Washington.
- July 23 Mrs. Lincoln and two sons arrive in Washington.
- Aug. 24 Lincoln spoke at a bi-partisan meeting at Seneca, Maryland.
- Aug. 26 Lincoln spoke at Rockville, Maryland.
- Sept. 9 Lincoln and family about this date leave Washington for a speaking tour in New England.
- Sept. 28 Lincoln visits Niogoro Falls with family.
- Oct. 10 Lincoln and family arrive in Springfield, Illinois.
- Dec. 7 Lincoln arrived in Washington to attend Second Session of the Thirtieth Congress.

1849

- March 4 Lost day in Congress.

the lake route." Perhaps she remained in those cities which particularly appealed to her while Lincoln spoke in some dozen different New England communities. One source of information indicates that Mrs. Lincoln joined her husband in Albany, New York. If so, she may have had the pleasure of meeting the future President, Millard Fillmore. Her husband did. It is also of interest to add that the Lincoln's visited Niagara Falls and returned to Chicago from Buffalo by way of the lake route, aboard the steamer *Globe*.

Lincoln returned to Washington on December 7, 1848 to attend the Second Session of the Thirtieth Congress. Christmas was probably a lonely season for Lincoln, but his life in the Capital may have been enlivened by an invitation to a complimentary dinner held at Coleman's Hotel on December 20. "A portion of the two Houses of Congress and one or two other guests" attended. The newspaper reports do not provide a guest list, but there is good reason to believe that the only Whig Congressman from Illinois would receive an invitation.

Lincoln found his boarding house messmates quite congenial and they would often linger all evening at the dinner table discussing politics and the measures transpiring in the Thirtieth Congress. One such meeting took place on January 11, 1849, when the congressmen at Lincoln's mess (Dr. Samuel C. Busey in his "Personal Reminiscences" stated that Lincoln did not stay at Mrs. Sprigg's during the short session) lingered at the table discussing the amendment which he proposed to be attached to the resolution of December 21, instructing the committee on the District of Columbia to report the bill abolishing slavery in the district.

Lincoln may have been invited to attend Speaker Robert C. Winthrop's party honoring President-elect Zachary Taylor. A large number of members of both Houses of Congress and other distinguished persons received invitations. Lincoln's name is not mentioned in the press as being among those present, but he may have accepted the invitation of February 27, 1849. Perhaps he received Winthrop's invitation because he was an ardent Whig and supporter of General Taylor.

As stated before, Lincoln was often invited to social gatherings or chosen as a member of social committees because of his political affiliation with the Whig Party. This may account for his appointment as a manager to make the necessary arrangements for President Zachary Taylor's inaugural ball. The ball was to be held in an "extensive saloon" newly built on Judiciary Square. At an evening meeting, held by the subscribers at Willard's Hotel on January 27, 1849, Lincoln was elected to the board of managers. The board of managers, after their election, held a meeting at Capp's Pavilion on the evening of January 31, 1849. It is assumed that Lincoln was active in both of these meetings.

We know for sure that Lincoln did attend the Taylor Inaugural Ball which was held on Monday, March 5, 1849. Mr. Lincoln was accompanied by Elihu B. Washburne and a few others that made up his party. The event was a brilliant success and they remained at the ball until three . . . o'clock in the morning. When Lincoln went to the cloak room, he found his cloak but after an hour's search he failed to find his hat. Washburne described the disconsolate Lincoln "taking his cloak on his arm, he walked into Judiciary Square, deliberately adjusting it on his shoulders, and started off bareheaded for his lodgings. It would be hard to forget the sight of that tall man and slim man, with his short cloak thrown over his shoulders, starting for his long walk home on Capitol Hill at four o'clock in the morning without any hat on."

These social events were all part of Lincoln's education for his own presidency when his social conscious wife would see to it that the social austerity of the Polk administration, as she vividly remembered it, would not be retained in the Lincoln administration. Then, too, perhaps in the future the Lincolns in the White House would look benignly upon those struggling young congressmen and their wives who were socially ambitious and hoped to be accepted in fashionable governmental circles.

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS PUBLICATIONS

(Continued from the January Issue)

34th Congress/1st Session/Senate/Rep. Com./No. 282/ In The Senate Of The United States/August 11, 1856 . . . Mr. Douglas made the following/Report [To accompany bill H. R. 75]/The Committee on Territories, to whom was referred a bill from the/House of Representatives, for "An Act to reorganize the Territory of/Kansas, and for other Purposes," beg leave to report (Caption Title). Pamphlet, 5½ x 9, 11 pp.

In The Senate of The United States, August 11, 1856/ Mr. Douglas made the following/Report./[To accompany bill H. R. 75]/The Committee on Territories, to whom was referred a bill from the House of Representatives, for "An Act to reorganize the Territory of/Kansas, and for other purposes," beg leave to report. (Caption Title). Pamphlet, 5½ x 8¾, 16 pp. (Variant)

Remarks/Of The/Hon. Stephen A. Douglas,/on/Kansas, Utah,/And/The Dred Scott Decision/Delivered at Springfield, Illinois, June 12, 1857./Chicago:/Printed at The Daily Times Book and Job Office,/ No. 43 LaSalle Street, Second and Third Stories/1857 (Cover Title). Pamphlet, 6¼ x 9¾, 15 pp.

Kansas, Utah, And The Dred Scott Decision/Remarks of/Hon. Stephen A. Douglass/Delivered in the State House at Springfield, Illinois, on the 12th of June, 1857. (Caption Title). Pamphlet, 6½ x 9¼, 8 pp. Variant.

Kansas — Lecompton Convention/Speech/of/Senator Douglas, of Illinois,/On The/President's Message,/ Delivered/In The Senate of the United States, December 9, 1857 / Washington:/ Printed by Lemuel Towers. / 1857 (Cover Title). Pamphlet, 6 x 9¾, 15 pp.

Constitution of Kansas/In The Senate Of The United States,/February 18, 1858./Mr. Douglas, from the Committee on Territories, submitted the/following/ Minority Report. (Caption Title). Pamphlet, 5¾ x 9, 24 pp.

Speech/of/Senator Douglas,/of Illinois,/Against The/ Admission of Kansas/Under/The Lecompton Constitution./Delivered/In The Senate of the United States,/ March 22, 1858/Washington:/Printed by Lemuel Towers./ 1858 (Cover Title). Pamphlet, 6¾ x 9, 30 pp.

Remarks/Of/Hon. Stephen A. Douglas,/On The/State Of Parties In Illinois./Delivered In The Senate Of The United States, June 15, 1858/Washington:/1858 (Cover Title). Pamphlet, 6¼ x 9½, 15 pp.

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(Continued to the March Issue)

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Freemasonry's Role

The Washington Monument

By C. C. FAULKNER, JR.

"Proceed, then, fellow citizens. Lay the cornerstone of a monument which shall adequately bespeak the gratitude of the whole American people . . . Build it to the skies; you cannot outreach the loftiness of his principles."

—Robert C. Winthrop, Speaker of the House of Representatives,
at the laying of the cornerstone of the Washington Monument, July 4, 1848

THE HISTORY OF the Washington Monument, conceived as a tribute to the memory and deeds of the nation's first President, is replete with evidences of courage, perseverance, frustration, delay, embarrassment, failure and ultimately, success.

Masonic involvement and interest in its construction, though considerable, is not widely known.

A national tribute to Washington's

greatness was proposed the first time, some 16 years prior to his death. One hundred and five years later the monument bearing his name was opened to the public. The story of the now famous "obelisk known 'round the world" is one of the most fascinating in American history.

In 1783 the Continental Congress resolved "(Unanimously, ten states being present) That an equestrian statue of General Washington be

erected at the place where the residence of Congress shall be established." In 1790 Congress determined to establish the new seat of government in a district "not exceeding ten miles square, to be located . . . on the river Potomac" on land ceded by the states of Maryland and Virginia. George Washington, then President, having been inaugurated the previous year, approved the location that had been proposed for his statue by city



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JULY 4, 1848—Grand Master Benjamin Brown French of the Grand Lodge of the District of Columbia laid the cornerstone of the Washington Monument with elaborate Masonic ceremonies. The silver trowel he used to spread the mortar was the same trowel that George Washington had used in 1793 when he laid the cornerstone of the Capitol Building with Masonic ceremony. Historians recorded that some 15 to 20 thousand persons attended the Monument's cornerstone laying. President James K. Polk is shown above, left (over parol). President Polk had been a Mason since 1820 and once had served as Junior Warden of his Lodge. His death occurred less than a year after the laying of the Monument's cornerstone. On Polk's right is Dolley Madison, widow of U. S. President James Madison. Also in attendance during the ceremonies were James Buchanan, Andrew Johnson and a young congressman named Abraham Lincoln. The three later became U. S. Presidents. Buchanan and Johnson were Masons. Lincoln was not. Near-perfect weather prevailed for the cornerstone ceremonies. The stone's cavity contains many tokens of the time and was set, according to ancient Masonic custom, at the northeast corner of the foundation.—(Photo courtesy of National Geographic Society.)

Thoughts on the Freedom Trail

By ROBERT P. JOYCE

Grand Master of Masons in Indiana



AS THIS IS written February is just beyond the horizon. It is a month short on days but long on thoughts for warmer months as the sun's arc lengthens across the sky.

February also is the month when we pay tribute to two great Americans on their birthdays—Lincoln on the twelfth and Washington on the twenty-second.

Freemasonry's work has taken me twice to Boston in the past three months; also to Pennsylvania. It was stimulating to attend both Grand Lodges, where Masons may drink at the founts of our freedoms and renew our faith in America.

Around Boston is Freedom Trail, marking events that took place 200 years ago or more. It was in 1733 that Henry Price received from the Grand Master of England a warrant empowering him to constitute a Grand Lodge in Massachusetts, using St. John's Lodge as a nucleus. Soon there were other Lodges in many small towns to the west.

It was through these towns that Paul Revere and William Dawes rode to join Colonel Prescott and warn the colonists that the British were coming. At Lexington and Concord was drawn the first blood of the conflict. At Concord the "embattled farmers" stemmed the advance of Major Pitcairn and his regulars and showed the way to other Americans in the colonies to the south.

At Bunker Hill the Grand Master of Massachusetts, General Joseph Warren, lost his life as the colonists ran out of ammunition and lost the battle. But the men retired in good order, giving Washington the assurance that Americans *would* stand and fight in a just cause.

Thus, Freedom and Freemasonry came up together, not only in Massachusetts, but in the other colonies as well.

At Boston in September we heard Richard ("Red") Skelton recite the Pledge of Allegiance to our flag, slowly, analyzing each word or phrase and making each

come alive. Then he repeated the pledge, adding the words "under God," which were not included when "Red" learned it from his old schoolmaster in Vincennes. The Pledge of Allegiance to *my* flag is now an integral part of every ceremony of Grand Lodge in Indiana.

After our Revolution, loyalists by the thousands trekked to Ontario, carrying with them their possessions, their Freemasonry and their loyalty to the Crown. They, too, can thank our patriot ancestors for helping them win back the freedoms which Englishmen had lost for a time.

The Freedom Trail moved westward. From Kentucky to Southern Indiana came the Thomas Lincoln family in 1816, when Abraham was seven years old. There they remained until Lincoln was 21 years old before moving on to Illinois. It was our Revolutionary War ancestors who gave us our freedoms; it was Lincoln and a mighty host like him who preserved them for us.

Our Freedom Trail wends its way throughout our state, as each of our 551 Lodges becomes a part of it, proclaiming law and order by our actions, which are the foundation of freedom.

In this month of February, some of us each year go to Washington as part of a meeting of Grand Masters and Grand Lodge officers of 49 Jurisdictions. While there we will attend an all-day meeting in the George Washington Masonic National Memorial at Alexandria, where Washington served as Master of his Lodge. There once again we shall honor him, and perhaps later make plans to honor all our Masonic forefathers as we approach the Bicentennial of our country's birth in just a few short years.

Our fathers' God, to Thee,
Author of liberty,

To Thee we sing;
Long may our land be bright
With freedom's holy light;
Protect us by Thy might,
Great God, our King. Amen.

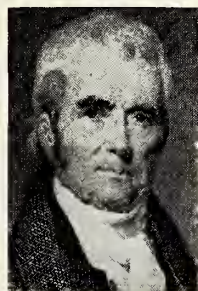
Robert P. Joyce

Grand Master

planner Pierre Charles L'Enfant. It was to stand on the Mall, at an intersection of lines south and west of the future Capitol Building and the President's House. But more pressing problems perplexed the fledgling nation and Washington himself thought that the state of the national treasury did not warrant such an expenditure at that time. A busy nation, concerned chiefly with its growing pains, did not pursue the idea.

Congress planned to move the seat of Government to the new Federal City by the first Monday in December, 1800. L'Enfant's design was taking shape and, on September 18, 1793 President Washington laid the cornerstone of the national Capitol in Washington, in what has been said to be the greatest public Masonic occasion in United States history. The silver trowel used by George Washington during that ceremony was used 55 years later by the Grand Master of Masons in the District of Columbia to lay the cornerstone of a monument that would honor the genius and greatness of Washington, the man.

On December 22, 1799, eight days after Washington's death, a proposal that "A marble monument be erected by the United States in the Capitol, at the City of Washington, and that the family of George Washington be requested to permit his body to be deposited under it" was introduced into the Congress by John Marshall (1755-1835), later the renowned



John Marshall

Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and known as the "Father of the Judiciary." Marshall later was to head the organization that ultimately would begin construction of the Washington Monument.

Marshall's friendship with Washington deepened through their association in Freemasonry. A member of Richmond Lodge No. 13 (now No. 10) and later of Richmond-Randolph Lodge No. 19, it is not known where Marshall received his Masonic degrees. He wintered with Washington at Valley Forge. There is speculation that he was made a Mason in an Army Lodge and that General Washington might have been present for his initiation into the Fraternity. Marshall later presided at the trial of Aaron Burr, for treason. In 1793-1795 he was Grand Master of Masons

in Virginia while his long-time friend and companion-in-arms was President of the United States.

Washington had been made a Mason in the "Lodge at Fredericksburgh", Virginia, in 1754 at the age of 22. He was named the first or Charter Master of Alexandria Lodge No. 39 on April 28, 1788. On December 20 of that year he was re-elected, and held the office for twenty months. A portion of his term as Worshipful Master was during his first term as President of the United

States. The Lodge is now Washington-Alexandria Lodge No. 22.

Following John Marshall's resolution in December, 1799 Congress, on four different occasions—1800, 1801, 1816 and 1832, considered the matter of a suitable national memorial to Washington in the District of Columbia. Its failure to act was a deep disappointment to the nation.

Finally, in September, 1833 the Washington National Monument So-

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EACH YEAR on the 4th of July, anniversary date of the laying of the Washington Monument's cornerstone, fireworks silhouette the famed obelisk in shooting stars and other colorful pyrotechnic displays. The fireworks are set off from the monument grounds by the National Park Service. Every night during the year, the famed monument reflects the light of 92-million candlepower. Visible for miles, it dominates the Capital's skyline during the day, and at night presides over the Federal District like a mighty sword of light piercing the block of the Capitol's nighttime sky.—(Photo courtesy National Geographic Society.)

Monument

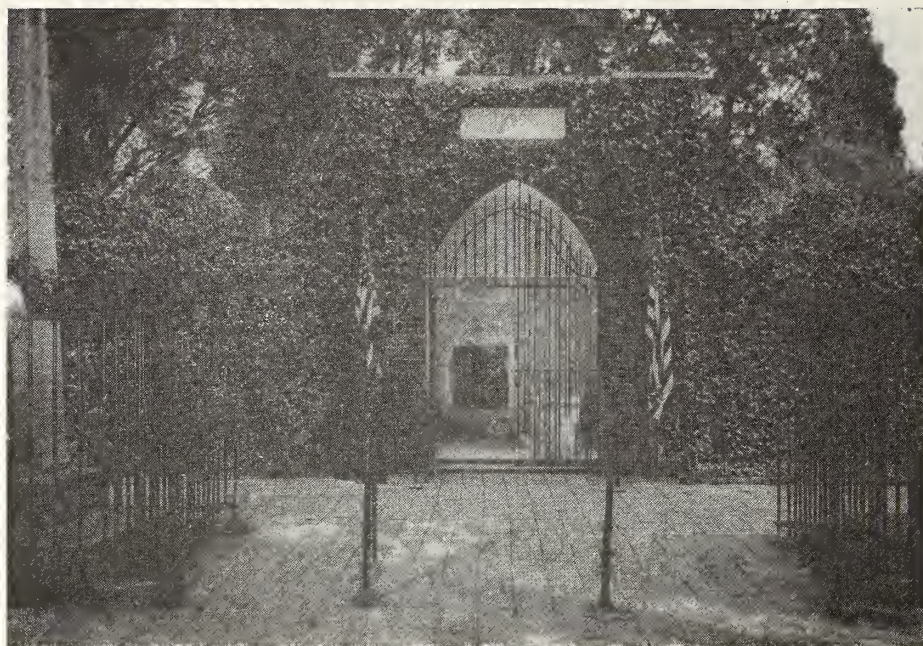
ciety was organized in the District of Columbia to accomplish, through private means, the congressional pledge to erect in the Federal city a national memorial worthy of the nation's first President.

George Washington's old friend, Chief Justice John Marshall was elected first President of the Society. In his acceptance of the Presidency of the Washington Monument Society, Brother Marshall said, "You are right in supposing that the most ardent wish of my heart is to see some lasting testimonial of the grateful affection of his country erected to the memory of her first citizen. I have always wished it, and have always thought that the metropolis of the union was the fit place for this national monument." Marshall died in 1835 and ex-President of the United States, James Madison, was elected to succeed him as Society president. Later the post went—ex-officio—to each successive President of the United States, from Andrew Jackson (Past Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Tennessee), to Richard M. Nixon.

In 1836, the Society announced competition to select a design for a memorial to Washington. Of those submitted, the design of eminent architect Robert Mills was finally chosen. Mills' design was a "grand circular colonnaded building . . . 100 feet high, from which springs an obelisk shaft . . . making a total elevation of 600 feet." It was to be known as the *National Pantheon*. The Monument Society never accepted the ornate Doric base, feeling that it should concentrate on raising funds for construction of the obelisk. Mills believed his design would cost about \$1,250,000. He missed the mark considerably. The obelisk, unadorned, cost \$1,187,710. Mills often has been referred to as a Mason, but there is no documentary evidence of his membership in the Craft.

Agents to collect contributions were appointed for each state and territory, to assure that the project would be popular and national in scope. By 1847, approximately \$87,000 had been raised and the Society felt that to be a sufficient sum to enable it to begin construction.

On July 4, 1848, nearly a half-century after Washington's death, the



NUMEROUS EFFORTS WERE MADE to have the remains of George Washington placed in the national monument honoring him. Family heirs preferred to respect Washington's wishes to be laid to rest at his beloved Mt. Vernon. His tomb on the grounds of Mt. Vernon is shown here. Newspapers of the day recorded that his Masonic Brethren, clothed as such, were among the mourners in the funeral procession.—(Photo used with permission of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, Virginia.)

Monument's cornerstone was laid with elaborate Masonic ceremonies. Presiding over the event was Benjamin B. French (1800-1870) Grand Master of Masons in the District of Columbia. To spread the cement, Grand Master French used the same silver trowel that George Washington had used in 1793 to lay the cornerstone of the National Capitol.

Grand Master French had served as president of the board of aldermen and the common council of the District of Columbia; he was chief clerk of the U. S. House of Representatives, and commissioner of public buildings and grounds. In addition to the Washington Monument, he laid the cornerstones of the Smithsonian Institution, the Capitol extension and many other public buildings and churches.

" . . . Few left the city, while great multitudes rushed into it . . . The weather was most propitious . . . The spectacle was beautiful to behold," reported the *National Intelligencer* after the cornerstone laying ceremony. Some 15 or 20 thousand people gathered to witness that Masonic event. Among those present were President James K. Polk; Dolley Madison, widow of United States ex-President James Madison, who was the second President of the Monument Society; a young Congressman named Abraham Lincoln and two

others who later became Presidents of the United States, James Buchanan and Andrew Johnson; George Washington Parke Custis, Martha Washington's grandson; and Mrs. Alexander Hamilton, then 91 years young.

Work on the shaft progressed fairly well for a few years. Solicitations for funds continued and the Society invited all states, territories and patriotic citizens to contribute stone blocks to enhance the shaft's interior walls.

Lodges in Indiana were asked to assist financially, and presumably to contribute stone blocks. The Minutes of Montezuma Lodge No. 89, for a meeting on December 19, 1850, contain the following entry: "The Secretary laid before the Lodge a Communication from the Washington Monument Committee requesting aid from this Lodge, which was read and on motion referred to . . . committee." The minutes of the meeting of that Lodge on January 15, 1851 contain the following entry: "The Washington Monumental (sic) Committee reported that it was inexpedient under our present embarrassed circumstances to contribute anything. The report was concurred in."

No Lodge in Indiana, nor did the Grand Lodge of Indiana, contribute stone blocks for the interior walls of the shaft. Other Masonic Jurisdictions were more responsive to the call.

Ultimately, 190 such stones were contributed, representing all states in the Union, many municipalities, patriotic societies and foreign nations. Of the 190 stones placed in the walls, 21 are Masonic.

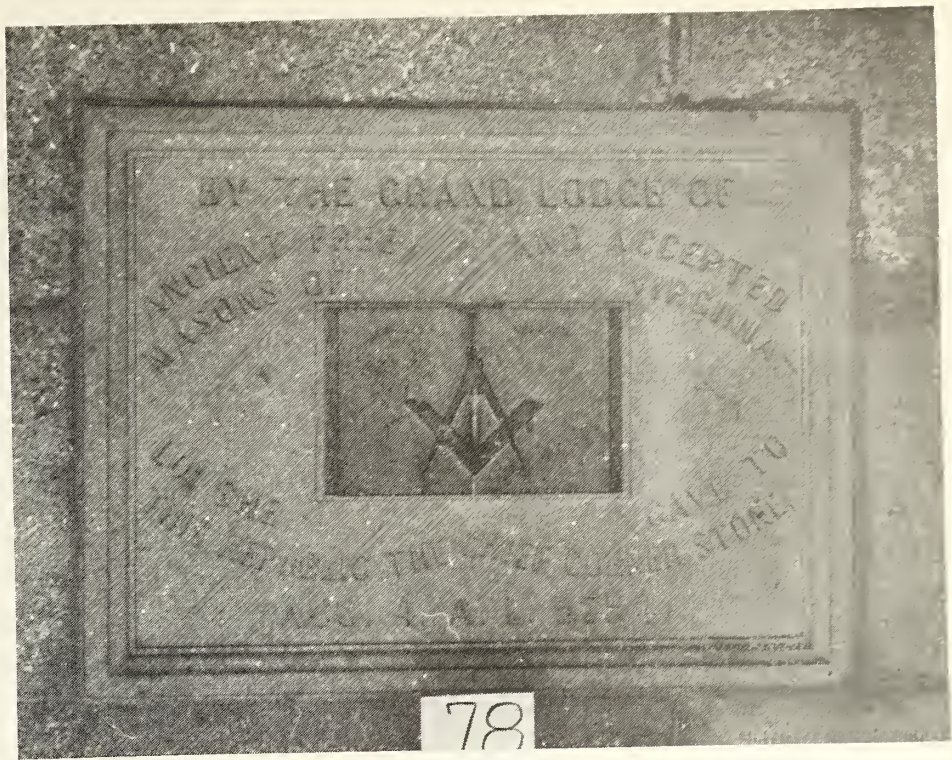
Fourteen Grand Lodges designed, approved, purchased and shipped memorial stones to the construction site, as did seven individual Lodges. Masonic memorial stones that may be seen today by those who undertake the task of walking the 898 steps in the shaft are from the following Grand Lodges: Florida (the highest, at the 230-foot level), Arkansas, Mississippi, Iowa, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Alabama, Illinois, Georgia, Maryland, Kentucky, New York, Ohio and the District of Columbia (the lowest, at the 50-foot level). Memorial stones placed by individual Masonic Lodges include two from Virginia, one from Massachusetts, two from New York City, one from Pennsylvania and one from Maryland.

By 1855, seven years after the laying of the cornerstone, the shaft had reached the 153-foot level and \$230,000 had been expended on its construction. Then, the building of the monument became involved in a political quarrel. Many citizens were dissatisfied with the work, and collection of contributions lagged. By then, the civil war loomed dark on the horizon. Work on the monument ceased, and sections of the nation seemed determined to divide the Union that Washington had helped to design. For nearly 25 years, no work was done at all and the monument stood incomplete at the 153-foot elevation. During the course of the Civil War the monument grounds served the Union forces as a location for a grazing ground, stock yard and slaughterhouse, and drill ground for troops. In 1867 when Mark Twain worked as a newspaper man in the District of Columbia, he wrote, "It has the aspect of a factory chimney with the top broken off . . . Cowsheds about its base . . . contented sheep nibbling pebbles in the desert solitudes . . . tired pigs dozing in the holy calm of its protecting shadow."

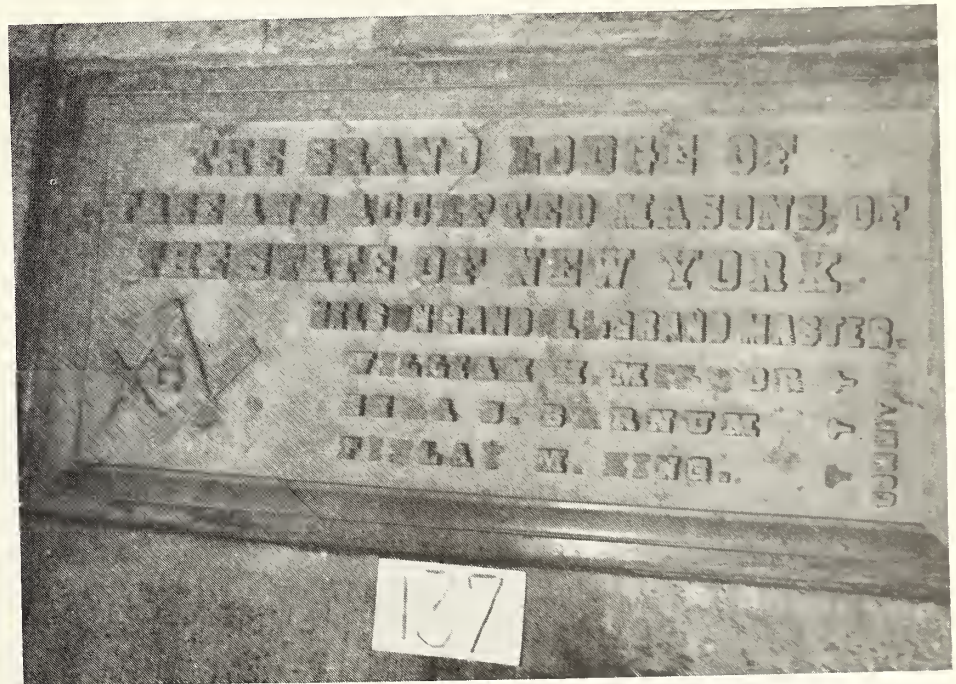
The nation celebrated the centennial of its independence in 1876. The monument's terrible condition (still at 153 feet) pricked a few influential consciences and Congress enacted a law, signed by President Ulysses S. Grant, appropriating \$200,000 for the completion of the shaft. The Monument Society, in turn, deeded the

Continued on Page 21

THE INDIANA FREEMASON, FEBRUARY, 1970



THIS MEMORIAL STONE in the inside wall of the shaft was provided by the Grand Lodge of Virginia. The stone measures 4 feet wide by three feet high and is located on the west side of the 200-foot level on the 18th landing. The date of August 4, 1754 refers to the date Washington was raised a Master Mason. The stone bible in the center bears the inscription **Psalm CXXXIII**. The inscription **Lo! She gave to this republic the chief cornerstone** refers to the fact that Washington was a native of Virginia and was raised a Master Mason in that Jurisdiction.—(U. S. Department of the Interior photo.)



THE GRAND LODGE OF NEW YORK felt a close tie with Washington, the nation's first President having been inaugurated the first time in New York City. This memorial stone measures 4 feet wide by 2 feet high, and is situated on the east side of the shaft's interior at the 110-foot level, on the 9th landing.—(U. S. Department of the Interior photo.)

Monument

monument to the Federal government for completion and maintenance. Congress acted to make the monument society a semi-official advisory body, a status maintained to this day.

As work resumed in 1880 Army Engineers discovered that the monument's foundation could not support its proposed height. It became necessary to dig away the dirt from the original foundation, remove many weak sections and strengthen it with a considerable amount of additional poured concrete. In the process of practically reconstructing the foundation, the entire structure settled only two inches.

At that time also it was necessary to change the monument's dimensions. Research revealed that a true obelisk should have a height about ten times that of the width of its base. Hence, the monument's final reach was placed at its present height of 555 feet, 5½ inches, on a base that is 55 feet, 1½ inches square.

Strangely enough, when work again resumed on the shaft (at the 153-foot level) late in 1880, a second cornerstone was laid by President Rutherford B. Hayes. Work then continued and the shaft was completed in 1884. Engineers placed the 3,300 pound capstone into place on December 6, 1884, 85 years after George Washington's death. The monument was built without the loss of a single life. The shaft was formally dedicated on February 21, 1885, with President Chester A. Arthur participating.

The dedication address was written by Robert Winthrop, who had delivered the one and one-half hour oration at the cornerstone ceremony 57 years previously. Winthrop was too ill to attend the dedication program and a Congressional colleague read the address for him.

Finally, on October 9, 1888, 105 years after it was first proposed, the Washington Monument was opened to the public. Fifty-eight years later in 1946, President Harry S. Truman, Past Grand Master of Masons in Missouri, became the first president to go to the top of the monument while serving as the nation's Chief Executive.

Sounding a triumphant note in his dedication address, Winthrop wrote: "Our matchless obelisk stands proudly before us today. The storms of



Living Memorials



Gifts to the INDIANA MASONIC HOME FOUNDATION in memory of those whom we have loved, and who now rest from their labors.

The following names will be entered in the Book of Remembrance:

In Memory of

Donors

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Merle Vance	Mr. and Mrs. Cecil Foster and Mr. and Mrs. Paul Bill
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Edwin L. Wray	Mr. and Mrs. Donald R. Kemble
Eibert H. York, Sr., P.M.	Mr. and Mrs. Alvin H. Metzger

And there dwells within this tabernacle of clay an imperishable, immortal spirit, over which the grave has no dominion, and death no power.

Living Memorial gifts should be mailed to the Indiana Masonic Home Foundation, Inc., Masonic Temple, 525 North Illinois Street, Indianapolis, Indiana 46204.

winter must blow and beat upon it . . . The lightnings of Heaven may scar and blacken it. An earthquake may shake its foundations . . . But the character which it commemorates and illustrates is secure . . ."

Bibliography

George Washington, Man and Monument, Copyrighted 1965 by the Washington National Monument Association.

Special Publications Division, National Geographic Magazine.

White House Historical Association.

U. S. Department of the Interior (copies of original documents).

A Brief History of the Washington National Monument Society (copies of original manuscript).

Goodly Heritage, by Dwight L. Smith, copyrighted 1968 by the Grand Lodge F. & A. M. of Indiana.

Monument Statistics

Materials used on face of shaft: White marble from Maryland and Massachusetts.

Total cost: \$1,187,710.31.

Height above floor: 555 feet, 5½ inches; width of base: 55 feet, 1½ inches; width at top of shaft: 34 feet, 5½ inches.

Thickness of walls at base of shaft: 15 feet; at top of shaft: 18 inches.

Weight of monument: variously set at between 81,120 tons to 90,854 tons.

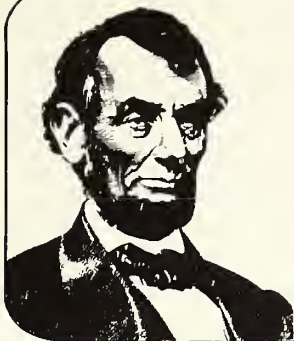
Foundation depth: 36 feet, 10 inches.

Weight of foundation, including earth: 41,341 tons.

Foundation area: 16,002 square feet (126 feet, 6 inches square).

Present elevator installed in 1959. Ascent time to top is 60 seconds. First elevator was a steam hoist requiring 12 minutes ascent time.

Memorial stone in inside walls of shaft: 190, of which 21 are Masonic.



Lincoln Lore

February, 1976

Bulletin of The Lincoln National Life Foundation...Mark E. Neely, Jr., Editor. Published each month by The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46801.

Number 1656

LINCOLN HISTORIOGRAPHY: NEWS AND NOTES

Editor's Note: Once again enough articles and notes of interest to Lincoln students have accumulated to merit devoting most of this issue to discussing them. The last page of this issue is the "Cumulative Bibliography," and this entire issue, like Number 1647, constitutes a bibliographic tool for the student and collector.

Although pundits have been suggesting for years that the Lincoln theme is exhausted, Lincoln students still produce fresh evidence and treat old problems in refreshing ways. The variety of contributions to the Lincoln field of study lately has been great, and some of them approach Abraham Lincoln from ingenious angles. Articles have recently linked his name to people as different as Mark Twain, one of the Peabody sisters of Salem, and Giuseppe Garibaldi. The old problem of Lincoln's opposition to the Mexican War has received a refreshing treatment, and the same author has attempted to psychoanalyze the sixteenth President. Despite the already vast literature on the subject, new research requires an almost yearly reevaluation of Lincoln. We should be changing our minds about aspects of his career all the time.

G. S. Boritt demands that we rethink our answer to "A Question of Political Suicide: Lincoln's Opposition to the Mexican War" in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, LXVII (February, 1974), 79-100. Boritt denies that Lincoln suffered a lapse from the "pragmatic" political course he characteristically pursued in his public career. William Herndon was the first to argue that Lincoln made a serious political mistake when, on January 12, 1848, he denounced the Mexican War in his first significant action as a United States Congressman. It

was a major leg of the argument of Herndon's *Abraham Lincoln: The Story of a Great Life*, which insinuated that Herndon steered his law partner from the errors of his political novitiate into the brilliant statesmanship which led to his being nominated for the Presidency twelve years later. Albert Beveridge, not only a Lincoln biographer but also a raving imperialist, made Herndon's case stick in *Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1858*, published in 1928. He, of course, was not happy to find that Lincoln opposed American expansion.

The evidence for the view that Lincoln thus committed political suicide is limited enough to suggest that the authors' prej-

udices dictated the bold assertion. Herndon and ever-hostile Democratic newspapers were the principal witnesses against Lincoln. The circumstance that Stephen T. Logan, Lincoln's former law partner and the Whig candidate for Lincoln's seat in 1848, lost the traditionally Whig district in the next election has also counted heavily against the wisdom of Lincoln's course; historians blame his opposition to the war for the Democratic upset that followed.

The many prongs of Boritt's attack on this old saw cannot be fully recounted, but here are some of the more important points: (1) Illinois Whigs in general opposed the war, (2) the only criticism of Lincoln in the press came from Democratic newspapers, (3) the only extant piece of opposition to Lincoln's stand from a member of his district comes from Herndon, (4) Whigs rotated the seat in Lincoln's district (he did not choose not to run again for fear of losing), (5) the Whigs' next candidate, Logan, was a terrible

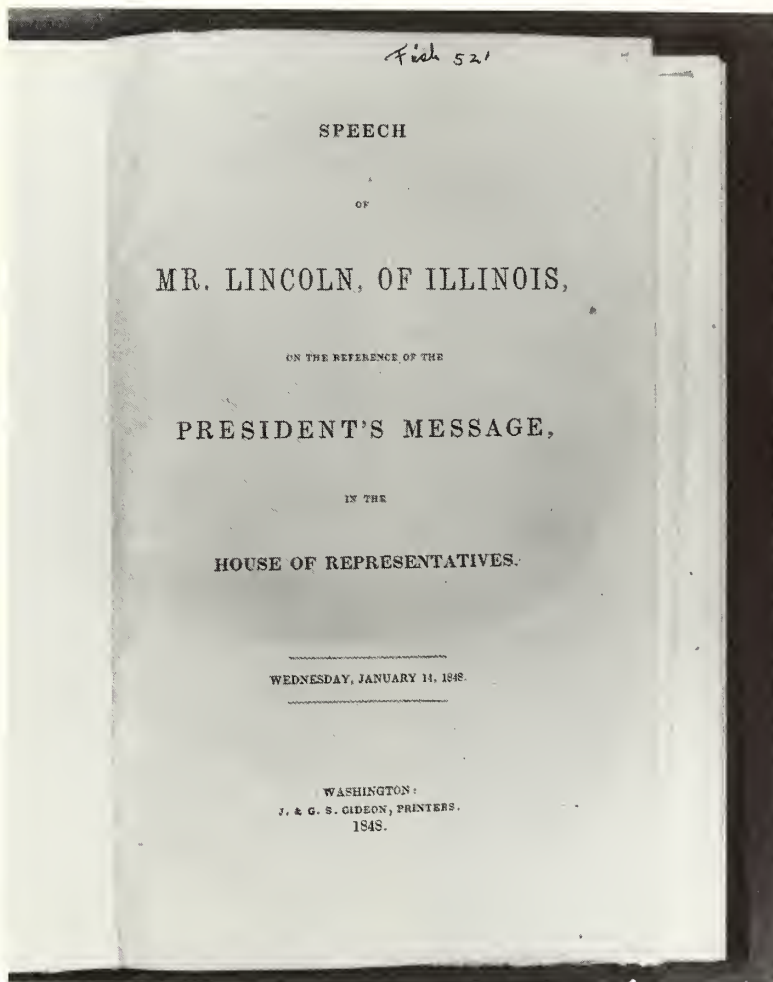


FIGURE 1. Lincoln's Mexican War speech as it was known to his friends and constituents. Only six other congressmen spent more than Lincoln on printing speeches to be sent home as pamphlets, and Lincoln spent the largest part of this sizable sum on reprinting his Mexican War address.

From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

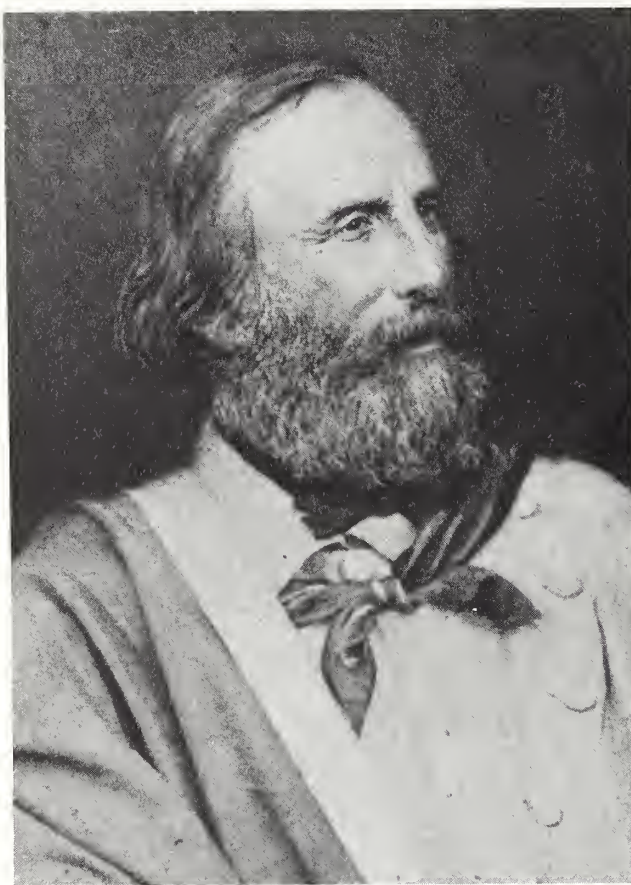
campaigner and guaranteed his own defeat, and (6) Lincoln spent much time campaigning for Zachary Taylor in 1848 out of his home state because of his ambition for national political fame, not because he was afraid to show his face in his own district.

In a more speculative and slightly less careful piece of work, Professor Boritt discusses "The Voyage to the Colony of Linconia: The Sixteenth President, Black Colonization, and the Defense Mechanism of Avoidance" in *The Historian*, XXXVII (August, 1975), 619-632. Here Boritt questions the depth of Lincoln's commitment to the policy of colonization by saying that Lincoln's interest in colonization was a psychological shield against facing painful external realities. Lincoln's public statements on colonization are a mass of contradictions. He occasionally ridiculed arguments that there was not room for both races on this vast continent. He spent only a small amount of the money Congress appropriated to further experiments in colonizing freedmen. His thought on the question

was uncharacteristically sloppy and ignored the sort of simple mathematical evidence from population figures and finance that he customarily loved to manipulate. These are signs of wishful thinking or unconscious avoidance of the realities of this great social question. A careless faith in colonization allowed him to devote his attention and energies to the task of freeing the slaves without worrying about future problems and without running roughshod over popular opinion among whites. It must be said that Boritt's article avoids what he so aptly calls "psychodogmatism," the clumsy assertion of borrowed psychological jargon that so mars Michael P. Rogin's recent psychobiography of Andrew Jackson (*Fathers and Children*) as to make it almost unreadable.

Boritt's article provides a sharp contrast to the program presented by Professor George M. Fredrickson to the Chicago Civil War Round Table in November, 1975. Fredrickson's published views were discussed in *Lincoln Lore*, Number 1647, and they have not changed significantly. But it is interesting to note that he sees colonization as "the perfect answer" in Lincoln's mind to the dilemmas of a man who inherited Henry Clay's views on the race question. Clay (and Lincoln), says Fredrickson, believed that racial differences were not innate but environmentally determined. Clay (and Lincoln) also believed that white prejudice was incorrigible, and racial equality was impossible as a matter of political and social fact (not as a dictate of nature's laws). Colonization was the only answer. Two more diametrically opposed views than Boritt's and Fredrickson's would be hard to imagine.

Allison R. Ensor's "The House United: Mark Twain and Henry Watterson Celebrate Lincoln's Birthday, 1901" in *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, LXXIV (Spring, 1975), 259-268, describes a notable occasion on which two former Confederate soldiers (Twain and Watterson) celebrated Lincoln's birth-



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

FIGURE 2. Giuseppe Garibaldi from an 1864 photograph.

result, to-day we are glad that it came out as it did, but we are not ashamed that we did our endeavor . . ." And he celebrated the North's leader, Lincoln, as "the greatest citizen, and the noblest and best, after Washington, that this land or any other has yet produced."

"Lincoln, Stevenson And Yours Truly," by Mort R. Lewis in *Manuscripts*, XXVII (Fall, 1975), 280-284, relates an incident in which Mr. Lewis suggested to Adlai Stevenson that he and Dwight D. Eisenhower should have a series of televised debates like the Lincoln-Douglas debates. Eisenhower ignored the suggestion after it was aired on Drew Pearson's radio show. Nevertheless, Mr. Lewis and Mr. Stevenson thereafter had some correspondence. Lewis chided Stevenson's overly intellectual speech-making by quoting Lincoln's advice to Herndon, "Billy, don't shoot high — aim lower and the common people will understand you. They are the ones you want to reach . . ." Thereafter, several letters revealed Stevenson's warm curiosity about the sixteenth President (especially his humorous anecdotes) and the ways of separating the valid quotations from the apocrypha.

Herbert Mitgang's "Garibaldi and Lincoln" in *American Heritage*, XXVI (October, 1975), 34-39, 98-101, discusses an offer to make the Italian revolutionary hero, General Giuseppe Garibaldi, a major general of Union forces in the Civil War. An ambitious Buchanan appointee, James W. Quiggle, who was the American consul in Antwerp, made the initial contact and offer (quite without any authority from anyone to do so). Secretary of State William Seward swept Quiggle aside but sent diplomats George Perkins Marsh and Henry Shelton Sanford to negotiate with the retired veteran of wars of liberation on two continents (this time, apparently, with the President's authority). The crafty Garibaldi tried to use the invitation as leverage on King Victor Emmanuel to launch a campaign against the Papal States to unify Italy; the King replied that he would be content to see Garibaldi go to America.

day. The audience included J. P. Morgan and Andrew Carnegie; the affair was meant to raise money for Lincoln Memorial University in Harrogate, Tennessee. President McKinley, of whom Twain was a bitter critic because of American policy in the Philippines, had been invited but did not attend. Twain, who was often critical of the South, here identified himself as a Southerner, recounting his war effort in mock-heroic style:

I had laid my plans with wisdom and foresight and if Colonel Watterson had obeyed my orders I should have succeeded in my giant undertaking. It was my intention to drive General Grant into the Pacific — if I could get transportation — and I told Colonel Watterson to surround the Eastern armies and wait till I come. But he was insubordinate . . . he refused to take orders from a second lieutenant — and the Union was saved.

Identifying with the South (note the use of *we* in the following), he nevertheless celebrated Northern victory: "To-day we no longer regret the re-

Then Garibaldi demanded that he be made commander-in-chief with the authority to abolish slavery; needless to say, he was turned down.

A very interesting letter describing Elizabeth Peabody's visits with President Lincoln in February, 1865, is reprinted with careful editorial notes by Arlin Turner in *The New England Quarterly*, XLVIII (March, 1975), 116-124. Miss Peabody wrote the letter to her nephew, Horace Mann, Jr. Lincoln had served in Congress with Mann's father, about whom Lincoln reminisced to Miss Peabody:

"Yes — he was very much interested in antislavery — He went into Congress because he feared the Extension of Slavery. I remember . . . —he never spoke of any other subject in Congress — and he was *reasonable*. He was not so extreme as *some* — As Wendell Phillips for instance — (and he looked up with the sweetest smile as if he did not *hate* W.P. for being *extreme* on this subject) . . ."

Then Lincoln told Miss Peabody a most interesting piece of political history. Congressman James M. Ashley wanted as large a victory as possible for the proposed Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery. As Ashley fought for his amendment in the House in January, 1865, Lincoln was involved in the delicate negotiations with Confederate peace commissioners which would lead to the Hampton Roads Peace Conference in February.

"Twice — while the talk in Congress was going on that morning — & I was writing to Seward — notes came from the House asking me *if there were any Commissioners of Peace in Washington* — or *whether I thought they would come* — Those converts of Ashley's (to support of the Amendment) would have gone off in a tangent at the last moment had they smelt Peace. I left off writing each time — & took sheets of paper — & elaborately wrote that *as far as I knew* there were no Commissioners of peace in Washington — *nor did I think they would come*." Here he laughed — & repeated again the same words & with the same emphasis '*as far as I knew &c*' . . . [.]

Miss Peabody saw Lincoln later at a White House reception and again discussed Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison. The letter is rich in descriptions of Lincoln's mannerisms and contains too many anecdotes to retell here. Suffice it to say that it is a document well worth reading and completely understandable because of the excellent footnotes. It is a job up to the customary high standards of this distinguished historical journal.

Two noteworthy discussions of Abraham Lincoln can be found in recent books. Major L. Wilson's *Space, Time, and Freedom: The Quest for Nationality and the Irrepressible Conflict, 1815-1861* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1974) carefully describes the differences in free soil doctrine as enunciated by Lincoln, Seward, and Salmon P. Chase. Free soilers characteristically saw themselves as purifying a corrupted, but once perfect national Eden. Seward was such an optimist that he had trouble perceiving that the corruption was serious; therefore, he was tempted by Douglas's popular sovereignty doctrine and confident even in the midst of secession that the nation would survive and progress. Lincoln, by contrast, was more a pessimist who knew that even this nation could go wrong were something not done soon about slavery. He dated the national decline from the early 1850's. Chase saw the decline as beginning as early as 1790 and was the profoundest pessimist of the three.

In a thin volume entitled *Crucial American Elections* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1973), Don E. Fehrenbacher shrewdly discusses the election of 1860. He questions what a "crucial" election is. This one was "crucial" in the sense that the most cataclysmic events in American history ensued directly as a result of the election. Lincoln turned 39 percent of the popular vote into 59 percent of the electoral vote, but there was common agreement from midsummer on that he was a shoo-in. The election contest itself was not excit-

ing for the voters or candidates. Even candidate Stephen Douglas acknowledged defeat a month before the election was held. Ironically, this gave the South time to prepare for secession; a closer contest — or, rather, a contest perceived by the voters as promising to be close — might have prevented secession, at least for a time.

There is a long discussion of the Gettysburg Address in *The New Yorker* magazine for September 8, 1975, written by Mortimer J. Adler and William Gorman.

Despite the vogue of archival scholarship, most archivists know that it is more praised than practiced. Last year, however, seven students from Indianapolis Baptist High School, accompanied by their capable teacher, Miss Thekla Joiner, made the 250-mile round trip from Indianapolis to Fort Wayne in order to do research in the Lincoln Library and Museum for an essay contest sponsored by the Eisenhower Scholarship Foundation, P. O. Box 1324, Bloomington, Indiana. Two Indianapolis Baptist students, Jim Lockwood and Kim Montgomery, were among the six Indiana students awarded \$8,000 scholarships for their education at smaller, privately endowed Indiana colleges. These students are to be congratulated, their school commended for its serious approach to study, and the Eisenhower Foundation acknowledged for its contribution to education.

On May 11, 1975, Paul M. Angle died at the age of 74. In 1925, he became executive secretary of the Abraham Lincoln Association in Springfield. In 1932, he became Illinois State Historian and executive director of the Illinois State Historical Society, positions he held until 1945. For twenty years after that, Angle was director of the Chicago Historical Society. He edited many books and publications and is well known as the author of *A Shelf of Lincoln Books* and "*Here I Have Lived*": *A History of Lincoln's Springfield*.



Courtesy of Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.
FIGURE 3. Elizabeth Palmer Peabody (1804-1894) from an oil portrait painted in 1878 by Charles Burleigh.

CUMULATIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY 1975

Selections approved by a Bibliography Committee consisting of the following members: Dr. Kenneth A. Bernard, Belmont Arms, 51 Belmont St., Apt. C-2, South Easton, Mass.; Arnold Gates, 289 New Hyde Park Rd., Garden City, N.Y.; Carl Haverlin, 8619 Louise Avenue, Northridge, California; James T. Hickey, Illinois State Historical Library, Old State Capitol, Springfield, Illinois; E. B. (Pete) Long, 607 S. 15th St., Laramie, Wyoming; Ralph G. Newman, 18 E. Chestnut St., Chicago, Illinois; Hon. Fred Schwengel, 200 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C.; Dr. Wayne C. Temple, 1121 S. 4th Street Court, Springfield, Illinois. New items available for consideration may be sent to the above persons, or the Lincoln National Life Foundation.

1975 LINCOLN MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY 1975-5

Lincoln Memorial University Press/(Device)/Spring, 1975/Vol. 77, No. 1/Lincoln Herald/A Magazine devoted to historical/research in the field of Lincolniana and/the Civil War, and to the promotion/of Lincoln Ideals in American/Education./ [Harrogate, Tenn.]

Pamphlet, flexible boards, 10 1/8" x 7 1/8", 68 pp., illus., price per single issue, \$1.50.

LINCOLN MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY 1975-6

Lincoln Memorial University Press/(Device)/Summer, 1975/Vol. 77, No. 2/Lincoln Herald/A Magazine devoted to historical/research in the field of Lincolniana and/the Civil War, and to the promotion/of Lincoln Ideals in American/Education./ [Harrogate, Tenn.]

Pamphlet, flexible boards, 10 1/8" x 7 1/8", 69-136 pp., illus., price per single issue, \$2.50.

LINCOLN MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY 1975-7

Lincoln Herald/Index/Vol. 76/Spring, 1974 through Winter, 1974/Compiled by/Joseph E. Suppiger/Lincoln Memorial University/Harrogate, Tennessee/1975/(Cover title)/

Pamphlet, paper, 10 1/8" x 7 1/8", 18 pp.

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Address of/John A. Lloyd/To/Queen City Optimists Club/February 8, 1975/One Day In The Life Of/President Lincoln/(Caption title)/[Copyright 1975 by John A. Lloyd.]

Pamphlet, paper, 8 1/2" x 5 1/2", 15 pp.

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(Device)/(Portrait of Lincoln facing right)/(1809-1865)/16th President of U. S. A./[Japanese printing]/Lincoln Report/No. 17/February 12, 1975/No. Seventeen/(Two lines of Japanese printing)/Tokyo Lincoln Center/Masaharu Mochizuki, Director/2-1, Sarugaku-cho 1-chome, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo, Japan/Phone 291-1860/Mail address: P. O. Box 5001 Tokyo International, Tokyo, Japan/(Cover title)/[Printed in Tokyo, Japan in both Japanese and English languages.]

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Pamphlet, paper, 8 3/8" x 5 3/8", (8) pp.

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LINCOLN NATIONAL LIFE FOUNDATION 1975-16

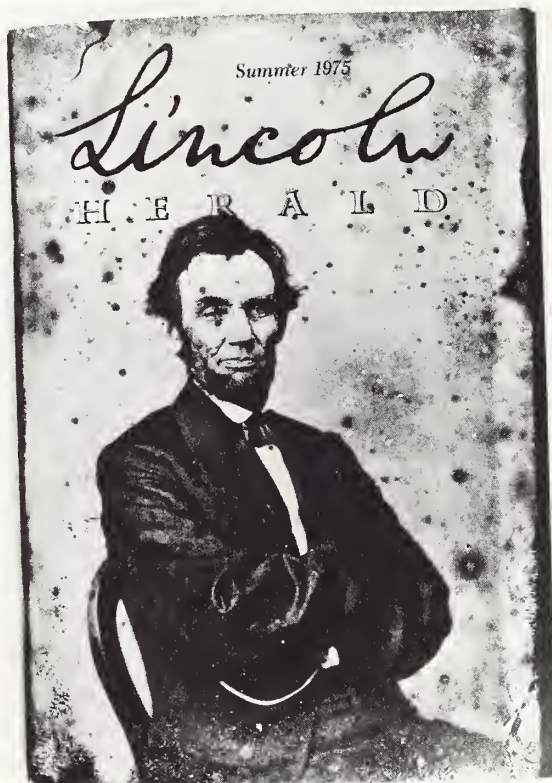
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Folder, paper, 11" x 8 1/2", 4 pp., illus. Number 1643, Abraham Lincoln Did NOT Defend His Wife Before the Committee on the Conduct of the War, January 1975; Number 1644, President Lincoln, Polygamy, And The Civil War: The Case Of Dawson And Deseret, February 1975; Number 1645, President Lincoln, Polygamy, And The Civil War: The Case Of Dawson And Deseret (Cont.), March 1975; Number 1646, The Vice-Presidency Twice Beckons Lincoln by Louis A. Warren, April 1975; Number 1647, Lincoln Historiography: News And Notes, May 1975; Number 1648, F. D. R. and Lincoln: A Democratic President Shapes the Story of a Republican President's Life, June 1975.

LINCOLN NATIONAL LIFE FOUNDATION 1975-17

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Folder, paper, 11" x 8 1/2", 4 pp., illus. Number 1649, A Philadelphia Lawyer Defends the President, July 1975; Number 1650, A Philadelphia Lawyer Defends the President (Cont.), August 1975; Number 1651, A View Of Lincoln From A House Divided, September 1975; Number 1652, A View Of Lincoln From A House Divided (Cont.), October 1975; Number 1653, Emancipation: 113 Years Later, November 1975; Number 1654, Index for 1975, December 1975.



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Lincoln Lore

June, 1976

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Number 1660

DID LINCOLN CAUSE LOGAN'S DEFEAT?

Until the birth of the Republican party, Illinois was a Democratic state. When Abraham Lincoln served in the United States House of Representatives (1847-1849), he was the lone Whig from Illinois, and his Seventh Congressional District gained the reputation of being the banner Whig district in the state. In the next Congress, Illinois again sent only one Whig, but this man, Lincoln's friend Edward D. Baker, won in another district. The Seventh fell to the Democrats in the congressional election following Lincoln's election. Another friend of Abraham Lincoln, former law partner Stephen Trigg Logan, was the Whig candidate who went down to defeat in the Seventh Congressional District, and many historians have said that the burden of Congressman Lincoln's unpopular record of opposition to the Mexican War doomed Logan's chance of victory.

The dates involved in this problem are confusing to the modern reader and should be explained here before discussing the election. Doubtless many a modern voter gasped when television announcers reported, along with the results of the recent Presidential primary in Pennsylvania, that there were no less than twenty-two primaries to go before the November elections. Nineteenth-century American voters experienced a similarly endless churning of the political cauldron *every year*. There were no Presidential primaries, of course, but election dates were not systematized and elections were occurring at all times somewhere in the United States. The elections

The Field of Waterloo is ours!



THE WHIG CITADEL TAKEN!

The "Dead District" Redeemed!!

HARRIS ELECTED!!!

STATE REGISTER OFFICE, AUGUST 9.

It affords us heart-felt gratification to announce to our friends that the "dead district" is redeemed from the thralldom of whigery. Nobly have our friends performed their duty and most nobly have their gallant exertions been repaid! We can say no more now, but give a statement of the majorities below, which the official returns will not materially change. Huzza for Cass and Butler, Harris and Victory!!

	Harris.	Logan.
Putnam, - - - -	20 maj.	—
Marshall, - - - -	96	—
Woodford, - - - -	190	—
Tazewell, - - - -	—	200 maj.
Logan, - - - -	—	10
Mason, - - - -	116	—
Menard, - - - -	76	—
Sangamon, - - - -	—	263
Morgan, - - - -	64	—
Scott, - - - -	63	—
Cass, - - - -	7	—
	632	473

Harris' majority 159!!

which sent Lincoln and his colleagues to the House of Representatives were held over a period of a year and three months. Lincoln's was one of the earliest. He was elected early in August of 1846, but he did not take his seat in the House until December of 1847. Louisiana, by contrast, held its election for representatives to the same Congress in November of 1847, just a month before Congress convened. There were not even standardizations by region. Though Lincoln was elected in August of 1846, neighboring Indiana chose Lincoln's Hoosier colleagues a full year later, in August of 1847.

Stephen Logan's ill-starred election day, then, was August 7, 1848. Three months later Illinois voters returned to the polls to select a President of the United States, either Democrat Lewis Cass or Whig Zachary Taylor. Congressman Abraham Lincoln remained in Washington after Congress adjourned on August 14, 1848, to help the Whig Central Committee with the national Whig campaign. Illinois Whigs chose him as an Assistant Elector on August 23, 1848. This meant that he had been chosen to make speeches in Taylor's behalf in Illinois. Despite the choice as Assistant Elector, Congressman Lincoln remained in Washington throughout August and travelled to Massachusetts in September to campaign for Taylor. Time was growing short to fulfill his duties as Assistant Elector in Illinois, so Lincoln went directly to Albany from Massachusetts, and then to Buffalo, from which he took a steamer across the Great Lakes to Illinois. By October 6, he was delivering a

speech in Chicago. On October 10, 1848, he arrived in Springfield to campaign for Taylor in his own district. By the first week in December, Congressman Lincoln had returned to Washington to attend the short (or lame-duck) session of Congress. This session met before the President (elected in November) took office on March 5, 1849 (normally, the date was March 4, but in 1849 that day was a Sunday and therefore unsuitable for the inaugural ceremonies).

The local Democrats were jubilant when Logan lost to Thomas L. Harris. Immediately, they crowed that Lincoln's record was unpopular with the people of central Illinois. Referring to Lincoln's so-called Spot Resolutions, which had demanded that President Polk point out the specific spot of allegedly American soil on which American blood had been shed to initiate the Mexican War, the *Illinois State Register* claimed that the "spot" was at last "wiped out." "When Lincoln was elected," said the Democratic newspaper, "he made no declaration of principles in regard to the war before the people, as he himself tells us in his first speech in Congress. Therefore the people of the seventh Congressional district are not responsible for the anti-war speeches and anti-war votes" of their Whig congressman. "But," the *Register* went on, "it was otherwise in relation to Logan. He had committed himself in the legislature against the war, and his sentiments were well known to the people, — and they promptly rejected him. This proves that . . . they are patriotic, true lovers of their country."

Abraham Lincoln did not interpret the results that way, of course. Writing on August 28, 1848, to William Schouler, the editor of the Boston *Daily Atlas*, Lincoln said:

I would rather not be put upon explaining how Logan was defeated in my district. In the first place I have no particulars from there, my friends, supposing I am on the road home, not having written me. Whether there was a full turn out of the voters I have as yet not learned. The most I can now say is that a good many Whigs, without good cause, as I think, were unwilling to go for Logan, and some of them so wrote me before the election. On the other hand Harris was a Major of the war, and fought at Cerro Gordo, where several Whigs of the district fought with him. These two facts and their effects, I presume tell the whole story. That there is any political change against us in the district I cannot believe; because I wrote some time ago to every county of the district for an account of changes; and, in answer I got the names of four against us, eighty-three for us. I dislike to predict, but it seems to me the district must and will be found right side up again in November.

In a debunker's rush to judgment, historians have called this letter evasive and concluded that Lincoln was the cause of Logan's defeat.

"In the Seventh District," Albert Beveridge declared flatly, "Logan ran on Lincoln's record and was badly beaten." It "would have hurt Logan had he taken the stump for him at that time; for, . . . Lincoln's popularity at home had been seriously impaired, if indeed it were not for the moment destroyed." His reception when he did come to work for Taylor was, according to Beveridge, dismal:

Finally he reached home, but no mention of his arrival was made in any paper. What further part he took in the campaign in Illinois does not appear, except that at one meeting in a small town in Sangamon County, just before the Presidential election, the crowd was unfriendly and a Democratic speaker handled him roughly. As we have seen, Logan had been overwhelmed in the August elections. The result of Lincoln's first session in Congress had been a political revolution among his constituents, and, . . . he returned to Washington a dispirited man.

The atmosphere of rejection and isolation which Beveridge conjured up by saying that Lincoln's arrival went unnoticed, that only one recorded speech was made (and that in a

"small" town), and that Lincoln was "a dispirited man" became even more pronounced in Donald W. Riddle's *Congressman Abraham Lincoln* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1957). He called the election "the ultimate repudiation of Lincoln's stand on the Mexican War—not by Democrats only, as might have been expected, but by Whigs." Although Riddle noted that Lincoln made many speeches for Taylor after his return to Illinois and the Seventh Congressional District (these had somehow escaped Beveridge's notice), he read political disaster into their reception. After giving two speeches near Springfield (in Jacksonville and Petersburg, the county seats respectively of Morgan and Menard Counties), Lincoln "beat a strategic retreat," concluding "that no good purpose was served by his continuing to speak in this part of the district." Riddle added:

What is most curious of all he made no speech in Springfield. The conclusion is inescapable. Lincoln was so unpopular in Springfield and its environs that although he was an official party spokesman it was inadvisable for him to speak there.

Lincoln left for the northern part of the district where third-party Free Soil sentiment was strong.

Why did Lincoln retreat from the Springfield area? This is Riddle's explanation:

. . . he made only two speeches in his home neighborhood. In these he was roughly handled. He spoke at Beardstown on October 19. Two days later he spoke in Jacksonville. There his platform opponent, Murray McConnel, attacked Lincoln for his war attitude, asserting that Lincoln had misrepresented his constituents. Lincoln was sufficiently stung to reply. He refused to believe that a majority of his constituents had favored the war. This was an extremely vulnerable defense, and McConnel pounced upon it: how, then, did Lincoln explain his party's defeat in the recent Congressional election? The *State Register* was informed by its Jacksonville correspondent that Lincoln was "used up" by McConnel. "Lincoln has made nothing by coming to this part of the country to make speeches," the Morgan County writer concluded.

Lincoln spoke in Petersburg, the county seat of Menard County while attending court there on October 23. This time the *State Register* claimed he was "used up" by William Ferguson. It appears that Lincoln concluded that no good purpose was served by his continuing to speak in this part of the district.

Riddle judged that Lincoln had very little clout in the north as well:

It was no encomium of his success as an Assistant Elector [that Illinois went for Cass instead of Taylor]. The vote in Putnam County [in the northern part of Lincoln's district] was despite his major argument—that slavery restriction would be furthered by electing Taylor. In view of what had occurred in Jacksonville and Petersburg Lincoln could not easily have concluded that he had won many votes for his candidate.

It should make us suspicious to find the same conclusions buttressed by the opposite evidence. Beveridge's claim that Lincoln was unpopular was based on Lincoln's delivering so few speeches for Taylor in his district. Riddle found that Lincoln did deliver many speeches in his district but concluded, if anything more tenaciously, that Lincoln was unpopular with his own constituents.

To cling to Beveridge's conclusion, then, Riddle had to do two things. First, he had to say that the speeches which newspapers reported were reported unfavorably. Second, he had to say that the unreported speeches had no political effect or the opposite political effect from that intended by Lincoln. Thus the reader learns that Lincoln was "used up" at Beardstown and Jacksonville and that he failed to stem the Free Soil tide in the north, especially in Putnam County.

The first contention is based on a hostile witness; Riddle referred to reports of speeches in Democratic newspapers. Democratic newspapers *without exception* reported that Whig speakers were "used up" by Democratic ones; Whig papers always found precisely the opposite to be the case. It was Lincoln's misfortune that only the Democratic report of his speech survived.

Riddle could still plead that he used the *only* evidence available. Such would also be his plea in the case of the speeches in the northern part of the district. There are no reports, hostile or friendly, of these speeches, so the historian must rely on the only evidence available: the results on election day as ascertained from the election statistics. The figures for the two elections are printed below:

CONGRESSIONAL (AUGUST) PRESIDENTIAL (NOVEMBER)

COUNTY	HARRIS (Dem.)	LOGAN (Whig)	CASS (Dem.)	TAYLOR (Whig)	VAN BUREN (Free Soil)
Cass	656	650	724	761	11
Logan	399	417	369	465	4
Marshall	341	244	322	304	41
Mason	452	336	403	391	7
Menard	648	570	488	605	1
Morgan	1,322	1,264	1,309	1,372	139
Putnam	238	219	185	266	299
Sangamon	1,386	1,649	1,336	1,943	47
Scott	662	616	649	798	15
Tazewell	678	899	593	1,097	96
Woodford	419	231	309	166	52
	7,201	7,095	6,687	8,168	712

Lincoln did not stem the Free Soil tide in Putnam County, which went for Van Buren. However, it should be noted that all the northern counties, Putnam, Woodford, and Marshall, had the Free Soil virus, that Lincoln visited *all* of them as well as Tazewell, that Marshall and Woodford went for Cass by smaller majorities than they had gone for Harris, and that Tazewell went for Taylor by a much greater majority than it had turned out for Logan. In other words, it seems only fair to say that, whereas Lincoln may not have helped much in Putnam, he certainly did not hurt anything in Tazewell, Marshall, or Woodford.

It also seems fair to apply the same test of election results to Lincoln's speeches which were reported as disasters by the Democratic press. The fullest report stemmed from the Jacksonville speech, which was reported in this way by the *Illinois State Register*:

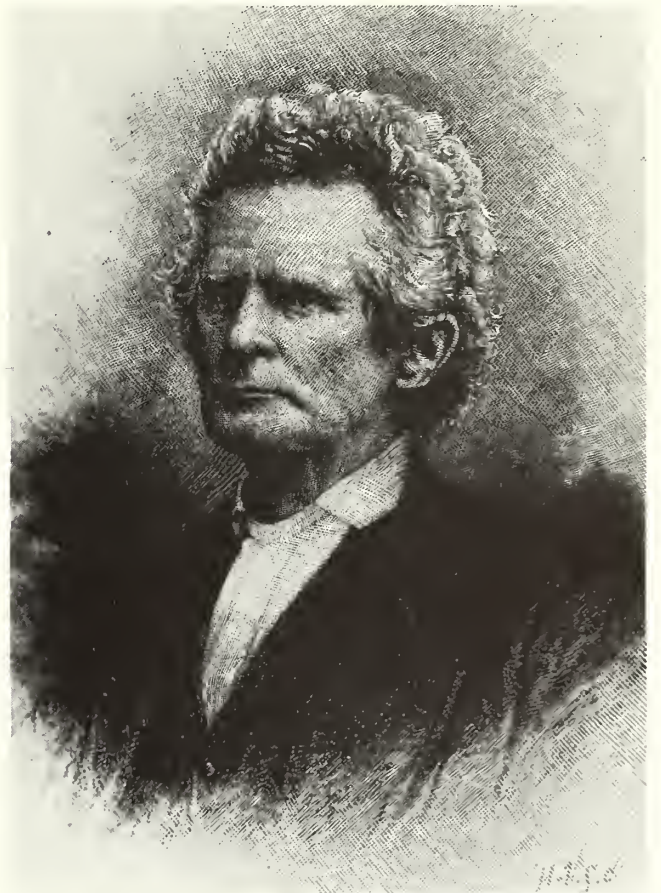
Mr. McConnel then took up a copy of the journal of the House of Representatives of Congress, of January last, and showed that Mr. Lincoln *had refused to vote for a resolution of thanks to General Taylor and his brave comrades for his and their conduct at the battle of Buena Vista, until he had first voted an amendment thereto, and this battle was fought in a war unconstitutional and unnecessarily begun by the President.* He then turned to Mr. Lincoln and compared his conduct in that vote with his conduct and speeches in favor of the war, and for carrying it on with spirit and vigor before he left home and while canvassing for the office of representative in Congress. He asked if Mr. Lincoln did not know when he gave that vote that he was *misrepresenting* the wishes of the patriotic people of this district, and did he do so by the influence of Mr. Polk or some whig leader. In the midst of the shower of fire that fell around him, Lincoln cried out, "No, I did not know it, and don't believe it yet." As quick as thought McConnel pointed to the August election as an evidence that he had so misrepresented his people, and to that most foul slander upon our district was mainly owing Logan's defeat for Congress. The people were tired of having their patriotism and love of country so shamefully misrepresented by whig Congress-

man and misunderstood by the American people, and they rose in their might and cast aside the men that disregarded the wishes of those who put them in power. Lincoln crouched in silence beneath the blows that fell thick and fast around him, and his friends held down their heads in shame.

Lincoln has made nothing by coming to this part of the country to make speeches. He had better have stayed away. Riddle agreed in substance with the Democrats, though not to the extent of saying that a "shower of fire" fell around Lincoln or that he "crouched in silence."

What, though, would happen if one applied the same test to this speech that is used for Lincoln's northern tour? Jacksonville was in Morgan County. The Whigs always had factional problems in Morgan. It was the only possible challenger to Sangamon's leadership in the Seventh Congressional District, turning out only about 350 - 500 fewer votes than Sangamon's whopping 3,000 or so votes. When Harris beat Logan in August, Morgan County, which had gone for Clay over Polk in 1844, went for the Democrat by 58 votes. Lincoln visited Morgan, and it went for Taylor by 63 votes in November. It would be a *post hoc ergo propter hoc* fallacy to say Lincoln caused the change, but it at least deserves mention and the same weight assigned to the vote in Putnam after Lincoln's appearance in that county.

Ignoring all partisan evidence from Democratic newspapers and disregarding the charges of Beveridge and Riddle, one could draw a very different picture of Lincoln's relation-



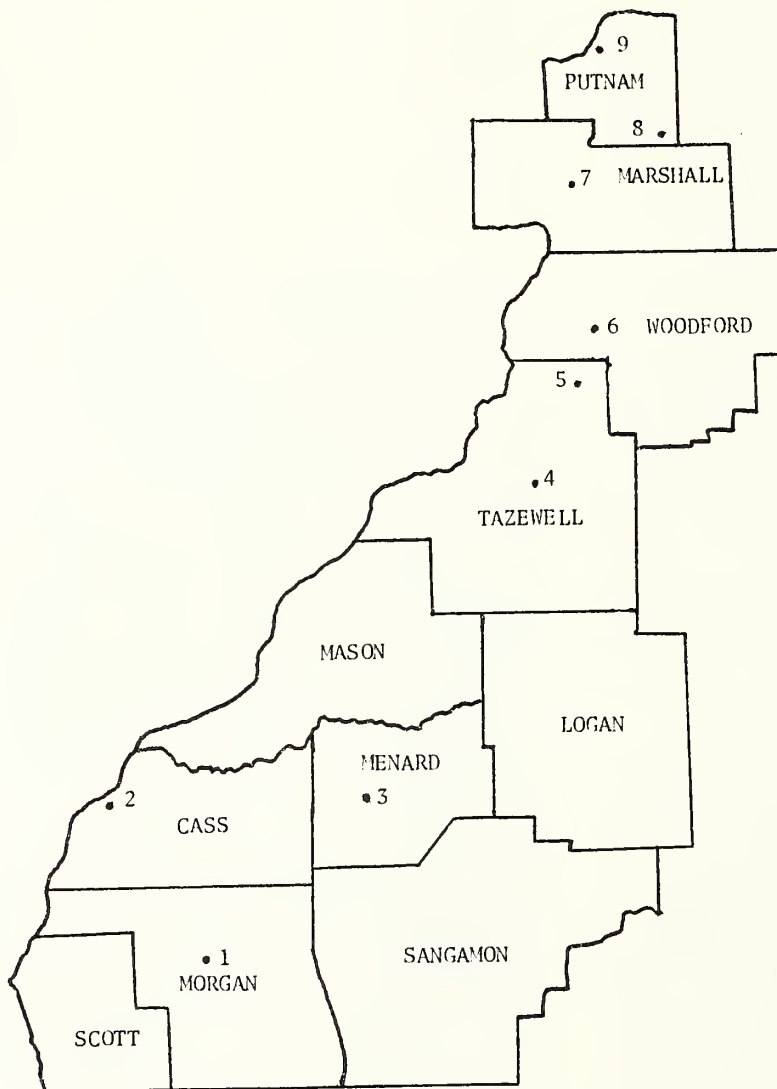
From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

Stephen T. Logan was, according to William Herndon, "small—short—thin—and squarely put up and angularly built, running in figure and features to sharp keen points, lance like He is frailly built—a froth network—nervous—quick—uneasy—restless his voice is sharp and shrill—'squeaky & squealy.'"

ship with his constituents. Stephen T. Logan lost the congressional election in August to war hero Thomas L. Harris. Thinking him on his way after Congress recessed on the 14th, local Whigs chose incumbent Congressman Abraham Lincoln on August 27 as Assistant Elector to make speeches in November for Zachary Taylor. Lincoln chose to work for the national campaign first and then came home in October to help out the Taylor cause in his own district. He made about eight speeches in Taylor's behalf in the district. Every county except Woodford that Lincoln visited turned out more Whig voters for Taylor than it had for Logan three months earlier. This is not necessarily proof of Lincoln's prowess as a campaigner, but it is proof of his political acumen. He had predicted in August that the upset of Logan by Harris did not indicate any permanent reversal of political fortunes for the

Seventh District's Whig majority. He knew and stated flatly that the district would be found in Taylor's column in November. What role his own speaking efforts played in this is impossible to determine, but they could hardly have been a detriment.

It is even harder to say what role Lincoln's reputation played in Logan's defeat than to say what role his presence and political activity played in Taylor's victory in the Seventh Congressional District. All that can be said, within the confines of *Lincoln Lore's* limited pages, is that there is no indication that Lincoln's physical presence in the district had any dampening effect on Whig political fortunes in October or November, 1848. One must wonder, then, how Lincoln could have been more dangerous to Whig success just three months earlier while he was hundreds of miles away in Washington.



THE SEVENTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

Lincoln Campaign Speeches for Taylor, October, 1848

1. Jacksonville (MORGAN)
2. Beardstown (CASS)
3. Petersburg (MENARD)
4. Tremont (TAZEWELL)
5. Washington (TAZEWELL)
6. Metamora (WOODFORD)
7. Lacon (MARSHALL)
8. Magnolia (PUTNAM)
9. Hennepin (PUTNAM)



Lincoln Lore

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Some Curiosities of a Congressional Career

Abraham Lincoln's brief career as a member of Congress remains a poorly understood chapter of his life. The fundamental problem is one of documentation. Lincoln apparently did not save his papers from his stay in Congress. Other than fragments and drafts for speeches, most of the letters and documents for this two-year period are in institutional collections other than the Robert Todd Lincoln Collection at the Library of Congress or still in private hands of collectors or of lucky descendants of recipients of letters from Congressman Lincoln. The record is therefore sketchy and imperfect, and the student lacks any feel for the kind of mail Lincoln got from his friends, advisors, and constituents. Even less is known about his Washington life, where there was less necessity for exchanging letters and conversation sufficed to get business done.

Donald W. Riddle wrote a solid monograph on the subject twenty years ago (*Congressman Abraham Lincoln* [Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1957]). However, Professor Riddle was preoccupied with the notion that Lincoln's career in Congress nearly ruined him politically because of his opposition to the Mexican War. He concluded, therefore, that Lincoln was as yet only a follower and not a leader, and that Lincoln achieved greatness only after 1854. Coupled with William Herndon's earlier assertions along the same lines, Riddle's book helped kill interest in this part of Lincoln's life. No writer could see room for another full-scale book on the subject, and there seemed to be little to learn about Lincoln's later career from this rather sour and lackluster episode.

Opposition to the war in Viet Nam revived interest in Lincoln's opposition to the Mexican War. Early mani-

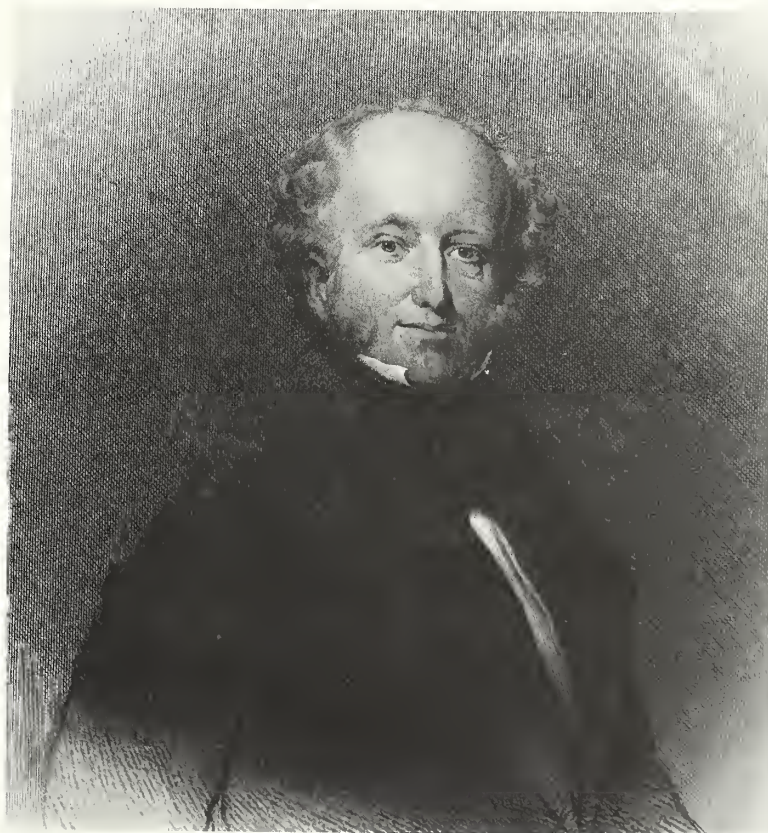
festations of this (like the play, *The Night Thoreau Spent in Jail*) were superficial and tended to be mostly cases of special pleading for modern political causes. But G. S. Boritt's, "A Question of Political Suicide: Lincoln's Opposition to the Mexican War" (*Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, LXVII [February, 1974], 79-100), served to reopen serious debate over the success of Lincoln's term in Congress. It also suggested that in political "pragmatism" and "the politics of morality," there were clear links with the later statesman's career.

Scholars are not as sure that they clearly understand the story of Lincoln's term in the House of Representatives as they used to be, and incidents in that career once again look interesting and seem to demand new explanations. The fol-

lowing are three curious events which have not been explained by the existing literature and which seem to call for more exploration by Lincoln students.

I. Lincoln Discredits a Candidate for Opposing War

In 1840, Lincoln actively supported William Henry Harrison's bid for the Presidency against Martin Van Buren. Lincoln was serving his last term in the Illinois House, and his law partner John T. Stuart was in Washington, serving a term in the House of Representatives. On January 20, Lincoln wrote Stuart asking that he "send . . . every thing you think will be a good 'war-club.'" He asked specifically for "as many copies of the life of Harrison" as Stuart could spare. He added: "Be verry sure to procure and send me the Senate Journal of New York of September 1814. I have a newspaper article which



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

FIGURE 1. Martin Van Buren (1782-1862) lived long enough to witness Lincoln's Presidency. Among the surviving former Presidents (Van Buren, Pierce, and Buchanan), he had the highest regard for Lincoln.

says that that document proves that Van Buren voted against raisin[g] troops in the last war." He was still hunting for the right evidence in April, when he wrote Richard F. Barrett, absent from Illinois on business in New York, "I would be glad if you could . . . procure the Journal of the New York Senate for the fall session of 1812." A newspaper report of a political speech Lincoln gave in May indicates that he had found what he desired and was using it to good effect: "He then reviewed the political course of Mr. Van Buren, and especially . . . his Janus-faced policy in relation to the war. In this part of his speech Mr. Lincoln was particularly felicitous, and the frequent and spontaneous bursts of applause from the People, gave evidence that their hearts were with him."

Although Lincoln was seeking "war-clubs," at least two things are notable about his search. First, he searched diligently enough to enable us to call his enterprise "research." He found a reference in a newspaper, but he apparently did not use it without verifying it. For reasons which will be explained shortly, that reference certainly proved to be erroneous, and Lincoln then sought another reference which might suggest the same issue. He went to some trouble to procure the references, which were not available in book-starved Illinois (even the capital of Illinois failed to hold copies of the records of the debates in the New York Legislature and the New York constitutional convention, held less than twenty years previously!). Second, he not only worked carefully and hard, but he was also careful to keep his "war-clubs" within the bounds of truth. Lincoln began by thinking Van Buren had voted against raising troops for the War of 1812. In the end, he apparently accused Van Buren only of a "Janus-faced policy in relation to the war."

Lincoln thus molded his accusations in accordance with the historical record. Martin Van Buren had been a first-term state senator in New York in 1812. That was not only a Presidential election year but also the year a war started, and in that combination there lay trouble for young Van Buren. In politics, he was a Jeffersonian Republican, and the War of 1812 was a Republican war, opposed principally by members of the Federalist party. In New York, however, the Republicans were badly split into two factions, one of which was led by DeWitt Clinton and the other, by local followers of the Republican President, James Madison. Madison ran for reelection in 1812. Clinton was an aspirant to the Presidency in 1812, also, and he became, therefore, an opponent of Madison's war.

In New York, Presidential electors were still chosen by the state legislature rather than by direct vote of the people. Van Buren, who was at this time a member of the Clinton faction, faced as his first legislative duty a special session to choose New York's electors. And he faced a miserable choice between his local party leader (in a vote that would be called a repudiation of the President's declaration of war on Britain) and his national party head, who was the bitter personal rival of the local party head. Van Buren immediately assumed a leadership role and engineered an electoral delegation pledged completely to Clinton. When he wrote his autobiography many years later, he admitted that it was a mistake. It gave him a reputation as an opponent of the war, a reputation which he fought ever after.

The reputation was, apparently, unmerited. As soon as Van Buren broke with Clinton in February, 1813, he wrote a scorching defense of the war, calling its opponents "puny politicians" who thought the voters "accessible" through their "fears . . . and pockets." He compared them to Tories.

What has all this to do with Lincoln's term in Congress? The Democrats in 1848 would do just what the Republicans did in 1813; Whigs became Tories, traitors, and "blue-light Federalists" (so named for the lights along the coast that shone from Federalist homes to direct the British fleet ashore). It is often assumed that Lincoln was somehow *naïve* in his opposition to the war, that he had no idea what kind of trouble he could be getting into as he docilely followed the lead of the Eastern Whigs. Surely this cannot be so. Lincoln went into the fray with his eyes wide open, as the expression goes; he knew exactly how dangerous any kind of opposition to a country's wars could be to any political career. He knew that politicians would scan his record for votes against the soldiers of the fatherland. Whatever the merit of his stand and whatever the

consequences, Lincoln's opposition to the Mexican War was not entirely the awkward first steps of a neophyte.

II. Veteran Whigs Who Were Also "Mexican" Whigs

Democrats called the Whigs "Mexican" Whigs for giving "aid and comfort" to the enemy (President Polk himself used that language suggestive of the Constitution's definition of treason; his followers often simply call Whigs "traitors"). Lincoln explained the Whig party's stand to his puzzled law partner, William Herndon, this way:

The locos are untiring in their effort to make the impression that all who vote supplies, or take part in the war, do, of necessity, approve the Presidents conduct in the beginning of it; but the whigs have, from the beginning, made and kept the distinction between the two. In the very first act, nearly all the whigs voted *against* the preamble declaring that war existed by the act of Mexico, and yet nearly all of them voted *for* the supplies. As to the whig men who have participated in the war, so far as they have spoken to my hearing, they do not hesitate to denounce, as unjust, the Presidents conduct in the beginning of the war. They do not suppose that such denunciation, is dictated by undying hatred to them . . . There are two such whigs on this floor, Col. Haskell, and Major Gaines. The former, fought as a Col. by the side of Col. Baker at Cerro Gordo, and stands side by side with me, in the vote [on the Ashmun amendment, declaring the war "unconstitutional and unnecessary"], that you seem to be dissatisfied with. The latter, the history of whose capture with Cassius Clay, you well know, had not arrived here when that vote was given; but as I understand, he stands ready to give just such a vote, whenever an occasion shall present. Baker too, who is now here, says the truth is undoubtedly that way, and whenever he shall speak out, he will say so. Col. Donaphin [*sic*] too, the favourite whig of Missouri, and who over ran all Northern Mexico, on his return home in a public speech at St. Louis, condemned the administration in relation to the war as I remember. G. T. M. Davis, who has been through almost the whole war, declares in favour of Mr. Clay, from which I infer that he adopts the sentiments of Mr. Clay, generally at least. On the other hand, I have heard of but one whig, who has been to the war, attempting to justify the President's conduct. That one is Capt. Bishop, editor of the Charleston Courier, and a very clever fellow.

A month and a half later, he used the same argument on Usher F. Linder.

Again, one must be impressed by the Congressman's diligent research. This is an imposing list of Whig veterans, one which cannot be found even in the most recent literature on the subject. Yet again, there is a matter of factual accuracy involved — were these men truly as critical of the war (a war of conquest entered upon to gain votes was Lincoln's description of it) as Congressman Lincoln? Acquaintance with the newspapers of the period will certainly prompt this question, for many Democratic papers claimed that Whig Alexander W. Doniphan had come home from his campaign and criticized the Whig party for stabbing his enterprise in the back.

Unfortunately, most of the books and articles which discuss Colonel Doniphan's dazzling campaign in New Mexico focus on the military exploits and ignore the Colonel's political views altogether. Doniphan was a Whig; he was nominated by a Missouri Whig convention for Governor in 1852, but declined to run. In 1855, he was a member of a pro-slavery convention that met in Lexington, Missouri, to condemn the "abolitionizing" of neighboring Kansas. Therefore, one can assume that he did not oppose the Mexican War on the grounds that it was a conspiracy to expand the empire of the Slave Power. Where did he stand?

The truth is elusive, and more pursuit of it is called for. The only readily available source which discusses what was said at the triumphal reception of Doniphan in St. Louis in the summer of 1847 is William Nisbet Chamber's *Old Bullion Benton: Senator from the New West* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1956). Senator Thomas Hart Benton was politicking as usual and gave the main welcoming address to the returning war heroes. Doniphan responded that "if the honorable senator's plans

had been adopted, the war would have terminated long ago."

From his response, one may reasonably conclude that Colonel Doniphan's views on the war were similar to Thomas Hart Benton's. Benton was a Democrat, but this does not by any means imply that Lincoln was wrong about Doniphan's views of the war. For Benton was a Democrat with a difference, a strongly idiosyncratic personality with a will of his own.

Thomas Hart Benton, like most Democrats, was an expansionist. He wanted to acquire upper California (especially the Bay of San Francisco) and New Mexico — by purchase. President Polk noted the Missouri Senator's "decided aversion to a war with Mexico if it could be avoided consistently with the honor of the country." In a private meeting with Polk a few hours before his declaration of war, Benton said that he would "vote men and money for defence of our territory" but was "not prepared to make aggressive war on Mexico," that he "disapproved the marching of the army from Corpus Christi to the left bank of the [Rio Grande] Del Norte," and that he "did not think the territory of the U. S. extended" beyond the Nueces. Benton kept an active interest in various proposals for peace, but he also cooperated with the war effort until Polk had Benton's son-in-law John C. Frémont court-martialed in 1848. Before Winfield Scott's invasion of Vera Cruz, Benton advocated an invasion of central Mexico as the only way to end the war quickly (characteristically, he proposed not only a strategy but also a commander to instrument it, "Lieutenant General" Thomas Hart Benton). Polk later adopted the strategy, in part, but not the commander.

Benton thus meant different things to different people. For some, he was a critic of the origins of the war who held *more* extreme views than Abraham Lincoln himself, who argued only that the Texas boundary lay between the Nueces and the Rio Grande. He was a man who sought compromise peace proposals. For others, he was an advocate of an even more efficient military prosecution of the war. When Colonel Doniphan said that Benton's plan would have ended the war sooner, it is not clear what he meant, for he was both a Whig and an efficient and aggressive soldier.

III. Why Did Lincoln Frank a Democratic Speech?

On May 3, 1848, Congressman Lincoln wrote a Washington printer, John T. Towers, to ask him to "send to the folding room . . . three hundred copies" of "the speech of Mr. Wick, of Indiana." Lincoln was not yet working for the national party's Taylor campaign committee, as he would after Congress adjourned in August, and it must be assumed that he intended the speech for consumption by his own constituents in Illinois.

William W. Wick was a Democratic Congressman from Indianapolis. It is always somewhat tricky to explain the uses of printed copies of speeches made by the opposition party. During the Mexican War, Whigs frequently circulated the speeches of Democrats John C. Calhoun and Thomas Hart Benton as proof that even some Democrats disapproved of the origin, purpose, and conduct of the Mexican War. At times, parties circulate opposition speeches which they think are so outrageous in content that they will turn voters away from the opposition. The most famous instance of this practice was the circulation of Andrew Jackson's message accompanying his veto of the bill to recharter the Second Bank of the United States. Nicholas Biddle, the President of the Bank, thought Jackson's sentiments so inflammatory that they would turn the public against him. However, the message had the opposite effect, increased Jackson's popularity, and caused Henry Clay to advise Biddle to cease helping the opposition by circulating their literature.

Wick's speech does not clearly fit either use, and it will take more work to prove precisely what Lincoln saw of merit in the speech. Wick's remarks were prompted by a sensational event in Washington, D.C., an abolitionist attempt to kidnap 78 slaves. On the morning of April 17, 1848, Captain Daniel Drayton, a sea captain of the *Pearl* and an abolitionist, weighed anchor and went to sea with slaves aboard stolen from the Washington community (including slaves from Dolly Madison's house). It was becalmed and overtaken by a

navy ship which brought the *Pearl* back. Drayton and his mate were arrested for kidnaping, and the slaves were eventually sold further south where escape was more difficult. Gamaliel Bailey had recently established an antislavery newspaper in Washington, the *National Era*, and mobs soon formed which threatened to hang Drayton and his mate and destroy the presses of Bailey's newspaper. Joshua Giddings, the antislavery Congressman from Ohio's Western Reserve district, defied the mob and went to the jail (along with Hannibal Hamlin, a young antislavery man from Maine) to offer his legal services to the prisoners. On April 20, John P. Hale and John G. Palfrey introduced resolutions in the Senate and House, respectively, to investigate police protection from mobs in the District of Columbia and to denounce threats made against Giddings, who had received several assassination notes under the door of his boarding house, and against Bailey. Five days of acrimonious debate followed.

On April 24, Wick gave his speech. It was humorous and moderate in tone, but it offered little solace to antislavery men in general or to Joshua Giddings in particular. He claimed that Giddings's "forced popularity at home, hot-housed into a long continuance by a former expulsion from this Hall, as just as it was impolitic," was waning, and "he must have a new inventory of martyrdoms to lay before his most respectable, though somewhat peculiar constituency." Wick opposed the resolution because the American interpretation of government privilege extended only to "menaces . . . aimed at, or caused by, any specific words spoken in discussion here" or at or by "any act of official duty." "If a member of Congress gets into a personal scrape when cruising on his own hook about the purlieu of Washington, and beyond the precincts of the Capitol," Wick said, "he must rely on the judiciary of the District." Lincoln was no special fan of Giddings, who was not supporting Zachary Taylor for President, but one doubts that his district needed an attack on Giddings as a conscious seeker of martyrdom to persuade it to go for Taylor.

The rest of Wick's speech was a careful "synopsis of the opinions of myself, and of all (except about thirty)" of the Democrats in the House on slavery. Much condensed, this is a summary of what he said:

1. It was wrong to steal Africans for slavery and to purchase them as slaves.
 2. Holding slaves by descent may or may not be wrong. Slave-holding is not in itself a sin.
 3. Slavery, though introduced in violation of God's law, will be guided by Him to the "good to his creature man."
 4. Congress cannot either authorize or prohibit slavery in any state or territory. Congress should regulate abuses in slavery in the District of Columbia.
 5. There is no such thing as national sin, and the Western Reserve has no duty to repent of the sins of Southern slaveholders.
 6. The South should gradually emancipate their slaves in such a way "as not to inundate us with their emancipates." State legislation to prevent the growth of "a numerous colored population among us" is ineffective.
 7. A slave-dealer is "an unmitigated brute beast."
 8. An increase in the area of slavery will not necessarily increase the number of slaves. Huddling the slave population together will accelerate the desire to emancipate but the kind of emancipation it would cause would "bring upon us in Indiana an avalanche of colored population."
 9. Abolition would not decrease the competition of slave with free northern labor. "The poor fellow must be exterminated, to release the white laborer from the competition complained of."
 10. Virtue and vice are equally distributed in the North and South.
 11. Northern Democrats "of the Wilmot proviso and self-called anti-extension-of-the-area-of-slavery stamp" cannot convert Southern Democrats or even Western Democrats. They use the issue in their own districts to get elected, but it is harmful at the national level. You "are aggressors." Use the issue at home, if you must, but, if you must, it will be as well for you to join the abolitionists, though "we will not 'read you out' of the party."
- Wick concluded with a long denunciation of New England



FIGURE 2. Congressman Lincoln repeatedly stressed the heroic roles played by Whig officers in the Mexican War. A typical example was the death of Henry Clay's son at Buena Vista in 1847. This N. Currier lithograph (detail) was one of many which documented that event.

Courtesy Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, Texas

hypocrisy, elaborating on the idea that New England slave ships helped start the slavery that New England now denounced. New England rum turned African chieftans into demons who sold their own people to obtain more rum. New England guns and gunpowder were the tools by which Africans waged war and gained prisoners who became slaves. New England profited at every stage of the operation, profiting later from selling the slaves in the South, from selling the tobacco taken in exchange for the slaves, and from European manufactures bought with the tobacco. They made four profits: on guns and rum, on slaves, on tobacco, and on the manufactures.

More extreme statements of the Democratic position could be found, and Lincoln would find and use them in the 1850s, being particularly watchful for statements which denigrated the Declaration of Independence for the sake of denying the natural equality of men. Although Lincoln certainly disagreed with what Wick said in points 4 and 5 and, as a Whig, was indifferent to what he said in point 11, there were large areas of agreement as well, particularly in the views that Southerners were no less moral than Northerners and that emancipation should be gradual and should include plans for colonization.

In the summer and autumn, Lincoln would campaign for Taylor primarily in areas where Free Soil sentiment seemed strong, in Massachusetts and in the northern counties of his own Seventh Congressional District. Perhaps Wick's speech, with its clear attack on Free Soilism, had some special appeal to a mind preoccupied with this problem, but it hardly seems to provide any kind of solution that would interest Lincoln. His major concern was to keep "conscience" Whigs from bolting to the Free Soilers. This speech merely discussed the common ground of agreement between Whigs of Lincoln's type and Free Soilers; namely, that the Democratic party was not pledged in any way to stop the growth of slavery.

IV. Conclusion

There are many other aspects of Lincoln's congressional career which invite further exploration and analysis because they are unsatisfactorily explained or ignored by the existing literature. In many cases, they are fine points, but in the end they may add up to a rather different picture of Congressman Lincoln.

Researchers and manuscript dealers have been slow to realize the opportunity in this area. Although I have never seen a letter that was written to Congressman Lincoln, he received, by his own account, "more than . . . three hundred" letters in the last session of Congress alone. The glamor of the Civil War and the Presidency should not blind us to the merits of study and collecting in the area of Lincoln's formative Whig years.

Autographed Debates: The Mulligan Copy

Interested readers have helped *Lincoln Lore's* continuing series of articles on the various presentation copies of the *Political Debates Between Hon. Abraham Lincoln and Hon. Stephen A. Douglas*. By writing us to describe their own copies, they have pinned down previously unlocated copies of the book.

A case in point is the Thomas Mulligan copy. When Harry Pratt wrote "Lincoln Autographed Debates" in *Manuscripts* in 1954, he had to list the present owner as unknown and was unable "to identify a Mulligan who was a friend of Lincoln in 1860."

Mr. William Robert Coleman of San Bernardino, California, has written to let us know that he owns the Mulligan copy. Moreover, he has been able to find that Thomas Mulligan was a lawyer in Monticello, Illinois, in the 1850s. He was a Republican and introduced Lincoln when he gave a three-hour speech at Monticello on September 6, 1858. He served as an alternate delegate from Piatt County to the Illinois State Republican Convention which nominated Lincoln for President in May of 1860.

The precise nature of Lincoln's relationship with Mulligan remains unknown. Monticello was a county seat on the Eighth Judicial Circuit, but Lincoln is not known to have associated with Mulligan in arguing cases in Piatt County.

There is more to be learned about the Mulligan presentation copy, as there is with other copies of the *Debates*. If the mysteries can be solved at all, the effort will certainly be advanced by cooperation and exchange of information. Lincoln collectors and students are indebted to Mr. Coleman for revealing the whereabouts of the Mulligan copy and for reminding us of that spirit of cooperation that has made the Lincoln field a joy to work in.



Lincoln Lore

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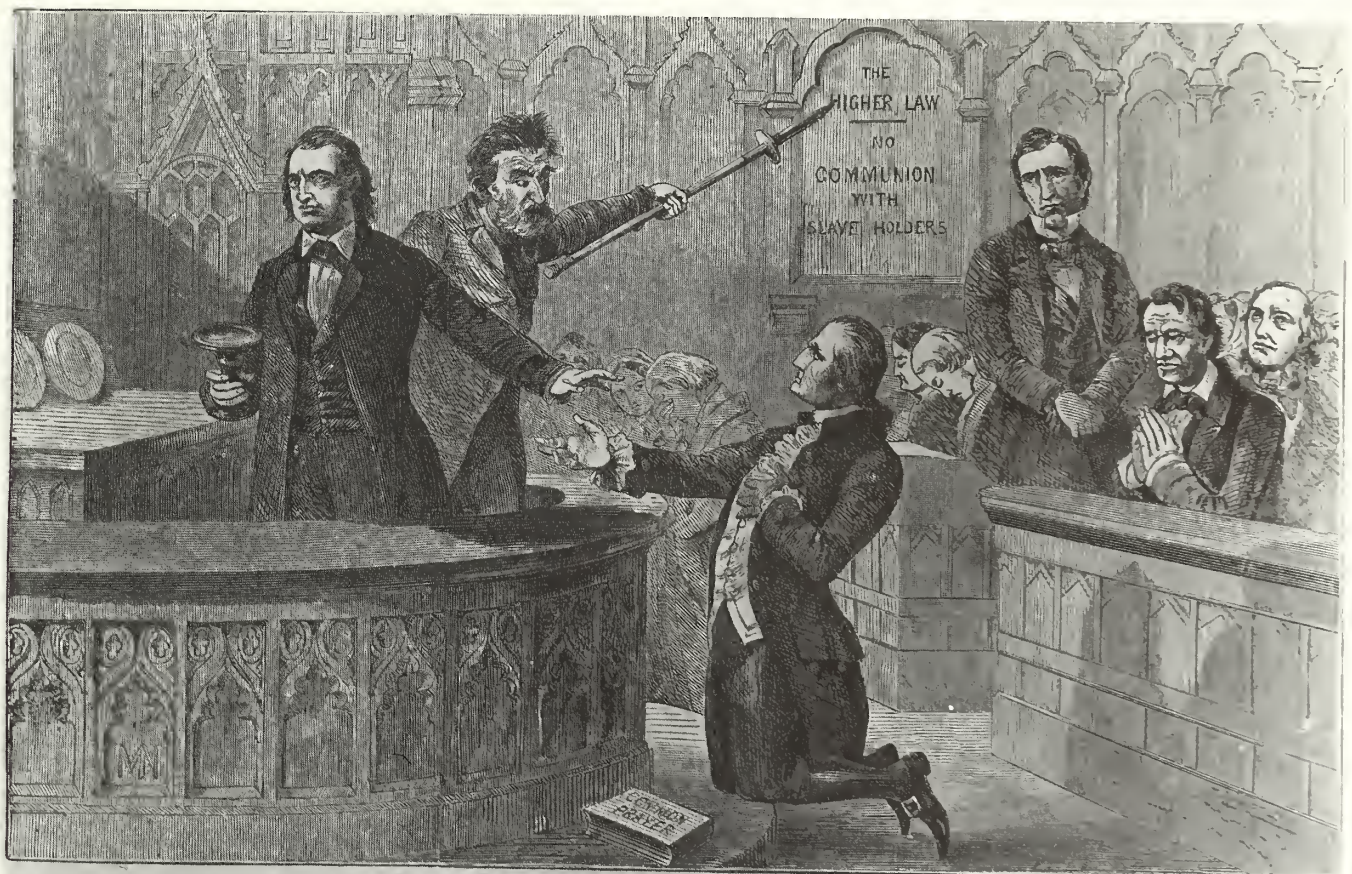
LINCOLN HISTORIOGRAPHY: NEWS AND NOTES

The best news in the field is that more Lincoln books are in the offing. Professor William Hanchett of San Diego State University has written eight chapters of a book on the assassination of President Lincoln. He has perhaps four more to write. He began the project as an extended essay on the historiography of the assassination but quickly discovered that he could not judge the historians without making up his own mind about the nature of the assassination conspiracy itself.

Thus began a long period of research in original sources, still under way. It took the efforts of his Congressman and other Washington friends to gain him access to the famed

John Wilkes Booth diary, and, says Professor Hanchett, it took practically a half hour to free the little book from the Ford's Theatre Museum security system. He has done extensive research in manuscript collections, and his book promises to be a balanced and sane corrective to the recent surfeit of sensationalist theorizing about America's first Presidential assassination.

Though we tend to think of it as primarily a European phenomenon, there is a long tradition of American politicians who have written books that were something other than memoirs of their terms in office. No one has combined



NO COMMUNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

"Stand aside, you Old Sinner! WE are HOLIER than thou!"

From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

FIGURE 1. *Harper's Weekly* published this view of the secession crisis on March 2, 1861, just before President Lincoln delivered his inaugural address. The cartoon suggests that Northern self-righteousness rather than Southern intransigence was the cause of secession. Henry Ward Beecher refuses to give George Washington communion as Seward, Lincoln, and Greeley sit in the congregation in various attitudes of exaggerated piety. This was essentially the Democratic view of secession — that it was unnecessarily provoked by the sectional self-righteousness of the Republican party. To hold, as William Appleman Williams does, that Lincoln was an "imperialist" requires the same assumption that this cartoon had behind it, namely, that the South was taking the humble attitude of the supplicant like George Washington in the cartoon.

Thomas Jefferson's feat of contributing significantly to American letters with a work like *Notes on the State of Virginia*, on the one hand, and reaching the highest political office in the land, on the other. Still, Theodore Roosevelt's contributions to the history of Western America and Woodrow Wilson's scholarly contributions to political science and history should not be ignored.

The Lincoln field seems to be the last still to attract politicians as readily as historians. This tradition began with the recollections of politicians who knew Lincoln and reached great heights in the work of Indiana's Senator Albert Beveridge. This tradition is still alive. Congressman Paul Simon of Illinois, for example, wrote a book, *Lincoln's Preparation for Greatness: The Illinois Legislative Years* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), which changed our thinking on many of the points of Lincoln's early political career and improved upon the work of Beveridge. Now Representative Paul Findley of Illinois's Twentieth Congressional District is at work on a book on Lincoln's single term in the United States Congress. Lincoln's appeal, incidentally, is broad; Simon is a Democrat and Findley is a Republican.

James R. Mellon, III, moves from the field of anthropology to Lincolniana and photographic history with a promise of a work on the best photographs of Lincoln. He hopes that the book will serve a sort of "archival" purpose by presenting with the latest methods of photographic reproduction the very best print available of all the famous photographs of the Sixteenth President before they deteriorate any further. Viking Press, which recently published a book on Georgia O'Keefe much praised for the quality of its color plates, is to be the publisher.

There has not been a motion picture about Abraham Lincoln in years. The movie industry has changed, and so has the nature of popular interest in Lincoln's career. Just now, it is probably the assassination which provokes the widest curiosity. Sunn Classic Productions, Inc., is filming "Conspiracy to Kill President Lincoln" in Savannah, Georgia, where the famed program of historic restoration has produced a city which is an ideal backdrop for a film about nineteenth-century America. The film is scheduled for release this summer. Although it does not promise to be of the sane and balanced school I championed in the first paragraph, the film will use actors of established reputation. John Anderson, who played Lincoln in a television special which preceded Hal Holbrook's lengthier portrayal, is supposed to play the Sixteenth President again. Richard Basehart, who has had a hand in a couple of television specials about Lincoln, will portray John Wilkes Booth. Sunn Classic's specialty is promotion, and they promise to give the film a big advertising campaign after this spring.

Winfred Harbison, who contributed substantial work on Lincoln and the Republican party in Indiana in the 1930s, has urged me to deal with the portrayal of Lincoln in Peter J. Parish's new one-volume synthesis, *The American Civil War* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1975). It was good advice. Professor David Donald of Harvard University has said of Parish's book that "It would be hard to find a better one-volume history of the conflict," and he should know, for Donald himself is coauthor of the best one-volume work on the period by far—at least before the appearance of Parish's work.

Parish's is certainly the most elegantly written textbook imaginable, and it is full of quotable and pithy statements about Abraham Lincoln. Parish begins his treatment of the Emancipation Proclamation by suggesting that "a man may show political skill and shun sentimentality, without necessarily being either shamelessly opportunist or morally insensitive." He calls Lincoln "the arch exponent of the indirect approach to the slavery issue, the strategy of the 'soft sell.'" Parish has a particular gift for using the evidence of witnesses of Lincoln's career to great effect, and it is important to his appreciation of Lincoln that one understand the context: "Even Horace Greeley admitted that Lincoln was well ahead of the bulk of Northern opinion, and that there was probably a majority in the North against emancipation until mid-1863." Given this state of public opinion, "He took the low road to emancipation rather than the high. It was slower and more circuitous, but it was safer and it led to the same place." Again, the well-selected witness's quotation, this time from Boston businessman John Murray Forbes in a letter to Charles Sumner, makes Lincoln's course seem shrewd:

It seems to me very important that the ground of "military necessity" should be even more squarely taken than it was on 22d September. Many of our strongest Republicans, some even of our Lincoln electors, have constitutional scruples in regard to emancipation upon any other ground. . . .

I know that you and many others would like to have it done upon higher ground, but the main thing is to have it done strongly, and to have it so backed up by public opinion that it will strike the telling blow, at the rebellion and at slavery together, which we so much need.

I buy and eat my bread made from the flour raised by the hard-working farmer; it is certainly satisfactory that in so doing I am helping the farmer clothe his children, but my motive is self-preservation, not philanthropy or justice. Let the President free the slaves upon the same principle, and so state it that the masses of our people can easily understand it.

He will thus remove constitutional scruples from some, and will draw to himself the support of a very large class who do not want to expend their brothers and sons and money for the benefit of the negro, but who will be very glad to see Northern life and treasure saved by any practical measure, even if it does incidentally an act of justice and benevolence.

Now I would not by any means disclaim the higher motives, but where so much prejudice exists, I would eat my bread to sustain my life; I would take the one short, sure method of preserving the national life, — and say little about any other motive.

Parish clinches his argument by quoting Lincoln's explanation of his policy to British antislavery leader George Thompson, as reported by Francis B. Carpenter:

Many of my strongest supporters urged *Emancipation* before I thought it indispensable, and, I may say, before I thought the country ready for it. It is my conviction that, had the proclamation been issued even six months earlier than it was, the public sentiment would not have sustained it. . . . We have seen this great revolution in public sentiment slowly but surely progressing, so that, when final action came, the opposition was not strong enough to defeat the purpose.

Parish interprets Lincoln's early policies of gradual emancipation for the Border States and his lingering interest in colonization as having an "invaluable political and propaganda purpose":

If the gradual plan failed, it might still serve to assure conservatives that all else had been tried before the resort to more drastic measures, and to persuade radicals that the administration was moving in the right direction. If the colonisation schemes failed, as they surely would, they would still serve to show the president's awareness of the fears of a Negro influx into the North, and his concern with the consequences of emancipation. Many Republicans, some more radical than Lincoln, had spoken in favour of colonisation; a correspondent of Ben Wade had applauded his support for the idea: "I believe practically it is a damn humbug. But it will take with the people."

"Lincoln," says Parish in another memorable passage, "was at his best when appearing to bow to the inevitable while doing very much what he himself wished."

Parish's treatment of the election of 1864 is a little less sure handed. As a synthesis, his book can be no better than the best of the existing literature, and this election, unlike Lincoln's racial policies, has yet to receive adequate treatment. Certainly, he is correct in saying that the "1864 election was remarkable first in that it took place at all, and second in that it so much resembled other elections held before and after." The former judgment is getting to be commonplace (which is not to say that it is not true), but the latter lacks convincing proof in *The American Civil War*. He does make at least one original point about Lincoln's opponents within the Republican party: "Those who hoped to replace Lincoln were attracted by the tried and tested formula of nominating a military hero. Their problem was that the available military men in 1864 fell into two categories: generals like Grant who were wreathed in the laurels of victory but who resolutely refused to consider nomination, and those like Fremont or Ben Butler who were willing or anxious to be asked, but whose military record was scarcely untarnished." The "boom" for Salmon P. Chase,

then, was not a response to a popular clamor — the people and the hacks wanted a general — but a drive engineered from the top down. Parish does a nice job in “translation into plain English of the full-blown phrases” of the Republican platform, pointing to the real meaning of this gaseous platitude:

Resolved, That we deem it essential to the general welfare that harmony should prevail in the National Councils, and we regard as worthy of public confidence and official trust those only who cordially indorse the principles proclaimed in these resolutions, and which should characterize the administration of the government.

In other words, translates Parish, Lincoln should behead Montgomery Blair.

Parish is on the high road to contradiction when he begins a paragraph: “The experience of 1864 bears out the view that, in American presidential elections, the struggle within the parties is often at least as important as the struggle between them.” He then concludes the same paragraph by saying that “The rivals of 1864 offered the electorate a choice and not an echo.” The fact of the matter is that most of the existing literature is written from the former viewpoint, but the latter viewpoint seems more proper in light of the nature of the party conflicts preceding the election of 1864. Attracted to the latter conclusion, Parish is nonetheless limited to the evidence for the former case — hence, his embarrassment. This is, however, an understandable blemish in an otherwise excellent book. Professor Parish lectures on American history at the University of Glasgow and joins that tradition of great British scholars who have on occasion understood American history better than the Americans themselves have.

In the course of studying Lincoln’s ideas about expansion in his term as Congressman during the Mexican War, I was led to William Appleman Williams’s book, *America Confronts a Revolutionary World: 1776-1976* (New York: William Morrow, 1976). This little volume “celebrates” the Bicentennial from the perspective of the New Left, a term which as the years fly by is becoming inapplicable but which has not yet been retired from use and replaced. Professor Williams, who is primarily a student of American foreign policy, is one of those radicals who hate liberals more than they hate conservatives. In American history, then, Professor Williams dislikes Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Delano Roosevelt and speaks, on the other hand, with a sort of nostalgic fondness of Herbert Hoover.

Williams hates Lincoln. He does not quite fall into that queer trap into which some American Marxists have fallen of admiration of the slave South because it was pre-capitalist and provided one of the very rare examples of a non-capitalist society in the United States. But he does have enough of the radical’s tendency to admire people for the enemies they make to argue that the South should have been allowed to leave in peace after — a curious concern for a radical — a convention authorized secession and “pegged” Federal property in the South at a fair price to be paid for over time (John Minor Bott’s suggestion). Lincoln thus becomes for Williams what he hates the most, an imperialist and a precursor of Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Wilson, says Williams, “would do for the world what Lincoln had done for America.” Again, in the case of World War II, “in the narrow military sense, as with Lincoln and Wilson, Roosevelt carried his crusade to a victorious conclusion.”

The Lincoln who emerges from Williams’s pages, then, is a curious figure drawn as a monolith, though the commonest conclusion of any book on Lincoln these days is that he *grew*. He is terrifyingly ambitious (“Lincoln ultimately achieved his ambition to displace Washington as the Father of the Country”), and he is pictured as “hacking out his trail to the White House.” Williams ignores Lincoln’s periods of vacillation, doubt, and uncertainty about his career (politics, law, business, surveying), about his marriage (could a “penniless” piece of “floating driftwood” support a high-minded woman in a town where people “flourished” about in carriages?), and about politics (he claimed to have been losing interest in politics between 1849 and 1854). Lincoln is also depicted as “full of missionary zeal to globalize the American solution to life.” “Put simply,” adds Williams, “the cause of the Civil War was the refusal of Lincoln and other northerners to honor the revolutionary right of self-determination — the touchstone of the American Revolution.” The House Divided speech “was the ultimate appeal to the genius of Madison: expand or die.

Hence if we keep you from expanding you will die.” Lincoln “wanted to transcend the Founding Fathers, free the slaves, and expand America’s power throughout the world.”

These are the slashing strokes of the essayist as quick portrait painter, and they have a surface plausibility rooted in the echoing of familiar phrases. By accident, some of these phrases are quite familiar. For years, I have assigned as a favorite topic for student essays a detailed analysis of Madison’s *Federalist* Paper Number 10. And for years, I have been correcting a freshman misreading of that famous document. Madison says, “Extend the sphere and you take in a greater variety of parties and interests; you make it less probable that a majority of the whole will have a common motive to invade the rights of other citizens; or if such a common motive exists, it will be more difficult for all who feel it to discover their own strength and to act in unison with each other.” He is completing a syllogism not making a statement of foreign policy. He precedes the statement with a description of the consequences of narrower boundaries (“The smaller the society . . . the more frequently will a majority be found of the same party . . .”). The point of *Federalist* Number 10 is to convince people who think the proposed United States already too large that it is in fact all the better for its great size. Certainly, the savvy Madison was not going to convince the timid and cautious by urging a policy of greater extension of territory. Madison’s political hero was Thomas Jefferson, who, though he had a tremendous interest in expansion, in fact thought that some of the possible expanded areas (Oregon, for example) would break off to form separate republics on the American model. This may be expanding the power of the United States, but it is not expanding it at the expense of self-determination. Madison’s message was not expansion and imperialism, and neither was Lincoln’s.

This is the best example to show the real fault of Williams’s work; he reads things out of context. When he describes Seward as “a persistent and by no means wholly defeated rival for supreme power,” Williams has smuggled the Imperial Presidency of the twentieth-century United States into the nineteenth century, when the Presidency could be conceived of (as it was by Zachary Taylor and Ulysses S. Grant, for example) as an office which merely enforced the Congressional will, a sort of vice-Congress. The floundering of a feeble republic protected only by geography and still widely regarded as a dangerous “experiment” are also very different matters from the purposeful policies of a giant power.

A lively writing style on occasion masks historical imprecision, as is the case in Williams’s discussion of Texas annexation and the Mexican War:

. . . the antislavery people, along with the abolitionists, posed the specter of secession — or war — if Texas was acquired. Lincoln was not the only one who read it right. But Calhoun disdained to play Illinois games, and laid it out on the table: “It is easy to see the end. . . . We must become two people.”

It is hard because of the imprecise style to tell exactly what “Lincoln . . . read it right” means here. However, not any of the possible meanings in the context can be true. Lincoln did *not* take the view of expansion that abolitionists did. He said bluntly in 1848 that he “did not believe with many of his fellow citizens that this war was originated for the purpose of extending slave territory.” He did not even perceive Texas annexation as a national problem, telling Liberty man William Durley that “Liberty men . . . have viewed annexation as a much greater evil than I ever did.” In fact he “never was much interested in the Texas question.” This points up two things: (1) Lincoln was not a clear-eyed imperialist squinting towards United States power at all times, and (2) imperialism was not the issue in the mid-nineteenth century that it became at and after the end of the century. Lincoln’s indifference is thus the most effective answer to Williams; Williams is wrong about which side of the issue Lincoln stood on and unhistorical in his own concern about the issue. Williams’s ignorance of this period of Lincoln’s life is proven, and we need not, therefore, linger over this idle and sneering speculation:

. . . given his later maneuver around Fort Sumter, one cannot avoid the thought that he learned from Polk how to act in a way that would start a war while shifting the blame to one’s opponent. On the other hand, he may not have needed any instruction in such matters.

Another interesting look at the context of Lincoln's actions from the perspective of a single state and, in this case, a single party is Eric J. Cardinal's article, "The Ohio Democracy and the Crisis of Disunion, 1860-1861," *Ohio History*, LXXXVI (Winter, 1977), 19-40. Cardinal attempts to resurrect the reputation of the Democratic party. The party "lost" the war as much as the South did, for its ideal was the restoration of the Union, "the Federal Union as it was forty years ago," in the words of Clement Vallandigham. Lincoln's historical reputation has been good enough to hurt that of anyone who opposed him, and the Democrats did. And, "the racism inherent in the Democratic ideology has made it morally unattractive to modern scholars."

American Heritage, XXVIII (February, 1977), contains a brief spread on actors' portrayals of Lincoln, called "Say, who's that tall, homely feller in the stovepipe hat?" There is a solid and accurate chapter on Lincoln by John A. Carpenter in *Power and the Presidency* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976).



FIGURE 2. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* stressed the differences within the Democratic party in this cartoon published on October 1, 1864. George McClellan, the Democratic nominee for President, refuses to drive the miserable one-horse shay rigged up by Clement Vallandigham and the peace wing of the party.



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Bulletin of the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum. Mark E. Neely, Jr., Editor.
Mary Jane Hubler, Editorial Assistant. Published each month by the
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Number 1688

RECENT ACQUISITIONS: IMPORTANT FIFTIETH-ANNIVERSARY GIFT FROM LINCOLN NATIONAL LIFE'S AGENCY HEADS



In honor of the fiftieth anniversary of the Lincoln Library and Museum, Richard B. Davies of Lincoln/Davies Inc. in Nashville, Tennessee, headed a campaign to raise money for a gift from the Lincoln National Life Insurance Company's one hundred agency heads. The response was extremely fine, and on September 11th of this year the agency heads were on hand to present the first of three items: a bronze statuette of Lincoln by William Zorach.

Zorach (1887-1966) was one of America's most successful modern sculptors. Examples of his work are in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Museum of Modern Art, the Whitney Museum of American Art, and other great museums. Like Lincoln, Zorach was born in a log cabin, but Zorach's birthplace was Lithuania. He came to America with his family in 1891, settling in Cleveland in 1894. He attended school only through the eighth grade, became a lithographer, and studied drawing and painting at the Cleveland School of Art. Zorach later studied art in New York and Paris, and he exhibited in the famous 1913 Armory Show, which introduced Americans to the Cubism of Braque and Picasso, the abstract art of Kandinsky, Brancusi's sculpture, and the post-Cubist painting of Duchamp, whose *Nude Descending a Staircase* outraged critics. Zorach took no interest in sculpture until 1917, when he began to carve — with a jackknife on wood. He never had any formal instruction in sculpture.

Zorach's sculpture turned away from the "modernism" of his painting. Critics would not say of any of his sculptures, as one did of one of his paintings, that it showed "a cubistic mother feeding a geometrical baby out of a trigonometrical bottle." He became one of the first to advocate direct carving by the sculptor, rather than modeling in clay to be executed by stonecutters. Most of his subjects were conventional and domestic — mothers with children and cats were typical. When he executed a rare historical piece, he altered his style somewhat. Of his statue of Benjamin Franklin for the Benjamin Franklin Post Office in Washington, D.C., Zorach said: "I felt I was doing something for the American people. People have a definite image of Franklin, Washington, Lincoln — you just can't ignore this image if your sculpture is to have meaning to the people. I tried to augment that image and give it greater power, dignity and authenticity."

Zorach's Lincoln statuette, executed as a plaster sketch model in 1936 (perhaps for some architectural purpose never realized), seems to have embodied the same philosophy of public sculpture. He admired Daniel Chester French's statue for the Lincoln Memorial, but he did not think it "a great work of art." It was, rather, a monument and, therefore, had to be "awe-inspiring." It had to "have meaning to all people and to children" and "not just for the sophisticated people of the art world."

Zorach's *Lincoln — The Emancipator*, 25-1/2 inches high, is only a statuette, but it seems to radiate that monumental purpose. One of six copies cast in bronze, it has the feel of having been carved and a rough-hewn angularity that meshes nicely with Lincoln's oversized rail-splitting hands. The bronze casting appears in none of the standard works on

Zorach, and its placement in a collection accessible to the public should be good news for students of art as well as Lincoln enthusiasts. It is an exceedingly important addition to the Lincoln Library and Museum, providing interesting points of comparison and contrast with the heroic bronze statue commissioned by Lincoln National Life in the same period, Paul Manship's *The Hoosier Youth*. Zorach is often paired with Gaston Lachaise as representing the best in American sculpture between the World Wars, and the Lincoln Library and Museum is much enhanced by the addition of his work.

The gift from the agency heads included as well two extremely rare broadsides. The first is an order concerning the procession in New York City for Lincoln's funeral. It is remarkable in that it associates Lincoln's name with desegregation at a very early date.

The Joint Municipal Committee in Charge of Obsequies was composed of appointees of the Board of Aldermen and the Board of Councilmen. When Negro representatives requested a place in the parade, arguing that there was to be a place even for the President's horse behind the hearse, the Committee turned them down. Republicans charged that the Committee was Tammany controlled, and the New York *Times* put it very succinctly: "... prejudice against color was supreme with a majority of the committee." The President of the Board of Police Commissioners, Thomas Acton, fought the decision. Accounts differ in regard to whether Acton succeeded before the appearance of the War Department order banning "discrimination respecting color," or because of it. It seems likely that the latter was the case, since newspaper reports of the decision to allow Negroes in the procession coincided with the appearance of the War Department order in the press. Though widely reprinted in the newspapers, the order in its broadside form is not mentioned in any of the standard accounts nor reproduced in books on Lincoln's funeral. This may well be its first publication.

Though as many as 5,000 Negroes had been reported ready to march, only two hundred actually did so. Doubtless, many felt intimidated by the obvious hostility of the local parade authorities. Memories of lynchings and murders of blacks during the draft riots just two years earlier were fresh enough to make ominous the reported remark of one Committeeman that the responsibility for allowing Negroes in the procession would rest with the police. In the end, however, it was widely

The Colored People in the Procession To-day.

WASHINGTON, April 24, 1865.

Major-General JOHN A. DIX—It is the desire of the Secretary of War that no discrimination respecting color should be exercised in admitting persons to the funeral procession to-morrow. In this city a black regiment formed part of the escort.

C. A. DANA, Assistant Secretary of War.

Colored people, or their societies, who wish to join the procession to-day, can do so by forming on West Reade street by twelve o'clock, their right resting on Broadway. Societies should appoint their own Marshals to preserve order.

Special Time Table for Funeral Train, on Hudson River Railroad, to-day, Tuesday, April 25.

Leave NEW YORK, 29th street, . . . 4.00, P.M.	Leave HYDE PARK, . . 7.56, P.M.
MANHATTAN, . 4.20, "	STAATSBURG, . 8.08, "
YONKERS, . . 4.45, "	RHINEBECK, . 8.24, "
DOBBS' FERRY, 5.00, "	BARRYTOWN, . 8.40, "
IRVINGTON, . 5.07, "	TIVOLI, . . 8.52, "
TARRYTOWN, . 5.15, "	GERMANTOWN, 9.10, "
SING SING, . . 5.30, "	CATSKILL, . . 9.27, "
Arrive PEEKSKILL, . 5.57, "	Arrive HUDSON, . . 9.38, "
Leave PEEKSKILL, . 6.00, "	Leave HUDSON, . . 9.41, "
GARRISON'S, . 6.26, "	STOCKPORT, . 9.52, "
COLD SPRING, . 6.33, "	COXSACKIE, . 10.00, "
FISHKILL, . . 6.50, "	STUYVESANT, 10.07, "
N. HAMBURG, . 7.06, "	SCHODACK, . 10.26, "
Arrive POUGHKEEPSIE 7.25, "	CASTLETON, . 10.35, "
Leave POUGHKEEPSIE 7.40, "	Arrive EAST ALBANY 10.55, "

reported that the Negro group was "the only portion of the procession which was received with any demonstrations of applause."

The second broadside stems from an earlier period. It is the "Plan of the House of Representatives" for the Thirtieth Congress, the only Congress in which Lincoln served. In addition to a diagram indicating the seat of each Congressman, there is a list of the residences in Washington of every Congressman at the bottom. This broadside will not only provide a "feel" for Lincoln's Washington surroundings but also a useful tool for analysts of early Congressional voting, some of whom have noted a high correlation between voting behavior and boarding-house residence. It was the custom for Congressmen to leave their families at home and live with other Representatives in one of Washington's many boarding houses. Mary Todd Lincoln accompanied her husband to Washington, but she soon returned to her home. Lincoln thought that she hindered him "some in attending to business."

The House of Representatives met in what is now Statuary Hall in the Capitol.

Though there were separate sides of the House for Whigs and Democrats, Congressmen drew their seats by lot. Lincoln's back-row seat was a function of bad luck, not of political obscurity.

Lincoln's single term in national office before the Presidency was memorable for him. He would remember his House colleagues; Indiana's Caleb Blood Smith, for example, would become Lincoln's Secretary of Interior. Even his boarding-house keeper, Mrs. Sprigg, would be remembered. On July 21, 1864, Lincoln wrote his Secretary of Treasury: "The bearer of this is a most estimable widow lady, at whose house I boarded many years ago when a member of Congress. She now is very needy; & any employment suitable to a lady could not be bestowed on a more worthy person." She became a clerk in the loan office of the Treasury Department.

The Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum is indebted to Lincoln National Life's agency heads for the generous gift of these items. We owe a special debt to Richard B. Davies for his leadership as well as his personal generosity. It is particularly fitting to have a visible symbol of the spirit of cooperation and support for the Lincoln Library and Museum provided by Lincoln National Life's agencies over the last fifty years.

CUMULATIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY 1977-1978

by Mary Jane Hubler

Selections approved by a Bibliography Committee consisting of the following members: Dr. Kenneth A. Bernard, 50 Chatham Road, Harwich Center, Mass.; Arnold Gates, 289 New Hyde Park Rd., Garden City, N.Y.; Carl Haverlin, 8619 Louise Avenue, Northridge, California; James T. Hickey, Illinois State Historical Library, Old State Capitol, Springfield, Illinois, E.B. (Pete) Long, 607 S. 15th St., Laramie, Wyoming; Ralph G. Newman, 175 E. Delaware Place, 5112, Chicago, Illinois; Hon. Fred Schwengel, 200 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C.; Dr. Wayne C. Temple, 1121 S. 4th Street Court, Springfield, Illinois. New items available for consideration may be sent to the above persons, or the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum.

1977

LINCOLN MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY 1977-19

Lincoln Memorial University Press/(Device)/Winter, 1977/Vol. 79, No. 4/Lincoln Herald/A Magazine devoted to historical/research in the field of Lincolniana and/the Civil War, and to the promotion/of Lincoln Ideals in American/Education./ [Harrogate, Tenn.]

Pamphlet, flexible boards, 10 1/8" x 7 1/8", 137-176 pp., illus., price per single issue, \$2.50.

1978

BORITT, G. S.

1978-1

Lincoln and/The Economics/of The/American Dream/(Device)/G. S. Boritt/Memphis State University Press/ [Copyright 1978 by Memphis State University Press. All rights reserved.]

Book, cloth, 9 1/4" x 6 1/4", xxiv p., 420 (2) pp., illus., price, \$12.00.

FIORE, JORDAN D.

1978-2

Abraham Lincoln/Visits/The Old Colony/Read before the Old Colony Historical Society/in Taunton, Massachusetts, February 18, 1960,/by/Jordan D. Fiore/Taunton, Massachusetts/The Old Colony Historical Society/1978/ [Copyright 1978 by Jordan D. Fiore. All rights reserved.]

Pamphlet, flexible boards, 9" x 6", 19 (3) pp., illus.

HAMILTON, HOLMAN

1978-3

The/Three Kentucky/Presidents/Lincoln, Taylor, Davis/Holman Hamilton/The University Press Of Kentucky/ [Copyright 1978 by The University Press of Kentucky.]

Book, cloth, 8 1/4" x 5 1/4", xv p., 69 (12) pp., illus., price, \$4.95.

LINCOLN MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY

1978-4

Lincoln Memorial University Press/Spring, 1978/Vol. 80, No. 1/Lincoln Herald/A Magazine devoted to historical/research in the field of Lincolniana and/the Civil War, and to the promotion/of Lincoln Ideals in American/Education./ [Harrogate, Tenn.]

Pamphlet, flexible boards, 10 1/8" x 7 1/8", 1-52 pp., illus., price per single issue, \$2.50.

(LINCOLN MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY)

(1978)-5

Lincoln/Museum/Lincoln Memorial University/(Scene featuring plaster sculpture of Manship's heroic statue)/On 25E at Harrogate, Tennessee/(Cover title)/ [Printed by Newman's Creative Printing — Knoxville.]

Folder, paper, 9" x 4", single sheet folded twice, colored illustrations, features several items in their collection and also states their Museum hours and information pertaining to rates.

LINCOLN NATIONAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

(1978)-6 a

The/Louis A. Warren/Lincoln/Library and/Museum/(Illustration of an impression from Abraham Lincoln's Presidential seal)/(Cover title)/

Pamphlet, flexible boards, 9" x 5 15/16", (20) pp. including clear transparent pages preceding and following the text containing printed illustrations of the Brady photograph and facsimile signature of Lincoln, colored illustrations throughout text. (Form No. 15587.)

LINCOLN NATIONAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

(1978)-6 b

Same as above.

This copy does not have the illustration of an impression from Abraham Lincoln's Presidential seal on the cover.

LINCOLN NATIONAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

(1978)-7

The/Louis A. Warren/Lincoln/Library and /Museum/(Portrait of Lincoln facing right)/(Cover title)/ Folder, paper, 9 1/4" x 3 13/16", single sheet folded three times, illus., contains brief description of the collection, hours, Museum floor plan and areas of interest of the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum. (Form No. 15588.)

MOCHIZUKI, MASAHARU

1978-8

(Device)/(Portrait of Lincoln facing right)/(1809-1865)/16th President of U. S. A./(Japanese printing)/Lincoln Report/No. 20/April. 15, 1978/No. 20/ (Japanese printing)/(Japanese printing)/Tokyo Lincoln Center/(Founded in 1961)/Masaharu Mochizuki, Director/2-1, Sarugaku-cho 1-chome, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo, Japan/Phone 291-1860/Mail address: P. O. Box 5001, Tokyo International, Tokyo, Japan/(Cover title)/ [Printed in Tokyo, Japan in both Japanese and English languages.]

Pamphlet, paper, 10 1/8" x 7 1/8", 6 pp., insert fold out page on the story of Tokyo Lincoln Center. Contains a listing on the whole collection of the Tokyo Lincoln Center; recent acquisitions of Japanese and English languages on Lincoln and pamphlets and clippings & etc. in English.

MOOREHEAD, LEE C., DR.

1978-9

In A Twilight,/Feeling And Reasoning My Way/By Dr. Lee C. Moorehead/First United Methodist Church/Madison, Wisconsin/(Portrait of Lincoln facing left)/Collection of:/The J. B. Speed Art Museum, Louisville, Kentucky/Bulletin Of 34th Annual Meeting/of/The Lincoln Fellowship of Wisconsin/held at Janesville, Wisconsin/May 15, 1977/Historical Bulletin No. 33/1978/(Cover title)/

Pamphlet, flexible boards, 10" x 7 1/4", 20 pp., printing on inside front and back covers, illus., price. \$1.25. Send to Mrs. Carl Wilhelm, c/o State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1107 Emerald Street, Madison, Wisconsin 53715.

NICHOLS, DAVID A.

1978-10

Lincoln and the Indians/Civil War Policy and Politics/David A. Nichols/University of Missouri Press/Columbia & London/1978/[Copyright 1978 by The Curators of the University of Missouri. All rights reserved.]

Book, cloth, 9 1/4" x 5 15/16", fr., vii p., 223 (2) pp., price, \$16.00

(NORTHEAST MISSOURI STATE UNIVERSITY)

1978-11

The Dedication/Ceremonies/Of The/Schwengel-Lincoln/Collection/April 29 — May 1, 1978/Northeast Missouri State University/Kirksville/

Pamphlet, paper, 10 15/16" x 8 1/2", (7) pp., illus.

WARD, GEOFFREY C.

1978-12

Lincoln's/Thought/And The Present/(Portrait of Lincoln facing front)/(Cover title of box set of six pamphlets entitled: Lincoln/ And The Right To Rise/, Lincoln/And His Family/, Lincoln/And The Law/, Lincoln/Slavery/And Civil Rights/, Lincoln/And The Union/, Lincoln/And His Legend/)/ [Copyright 1978 and published by Sangamon State University, Springfield, Illinois. Pamphlet produced . . . with a grant from The National Endowment for the Humanities as part of a project entitled, "Lincoln's Thought and the Present: A Program for Historic Site Interpretation."]

Box, hardboards, 9 1/4" x 6 1/8" x 1 1/8" housing six pamphlets, paper, 9" x 6", LINCOLN AND THE RIGHT TO RISE, LINCOLN AND HIS FAMILY and LINCOLN, SLAVERY AND CIVIL RIGHTS all 28 (4) pp., LINCOLN AND THE LAW, LINCOLN AND THE UNION and LINCOLN AND HIS LEGEND all 32 pp., illus. Pamphlets are available individually or in a boxed set from the Illinois State Museum Society, Spring and Edwards Street, Springfield, Illinois 62706.

Chicago Tribune 24 May 1979

Lincoln in Congress

made the ghastly discovery: Lincoln was an expense account padder.

Congressmen weren't paid a great deal in salaries then [they were in sessions only once or twice a year], but their travel allowance was quite generous — \$8 for every 20 miles, provided they followed "the usually traveled route."

Horace Greeley, the crusading editor of the New York Tribune and, ironically, a friend and admirer of Lincoln's, found it odd that "the usually traveled route" took many congressmen inordinate distances.

Greeley launched an investigation, comparing reported mileage with the official mileage figures listed by the Post Office for travel between the locations involved. Finding that dozens of congressmen were filling their wallets with phony mileage claims, Greeley ran an expose on the front page of his paper, naming names and amounts.

Down among the "Ls" was Abraham Lincoln, claiming 1,626 miles for a trip from Springfield to Washington that — by riverboat, stagecoach, and railroad — was only 780 miles. This gave Lincoln a pocketable profit of \$676.80 — more than many people earned then in a year.

And, according to Findley, Lincoln lingered in Washington after the session ended to use his free franking privilege to mail out several thousand letters on behalf of Zachary Taylor's presidential campaign.

But Findley's discoveries have not diminished his respect for Lincoln. "He was merely following the custom of the day," Findley said.

Findley noted that Lincoln gained a considerable national reputation and following from his one term in Congress for his eloquent opposition to the Mexican War.

Also, Washington — which was one huge slave market and slave pen in those days — exposed Lincoln to slavery as he had never been before. Prior to his congressional term, he seldom spoke about slavery. After it, the subject was in his every speech.

In terms of the country's future, that \$676 in taxpayers' money was a good investment, which is more than you can say about Otto Passman or Charles Diggs.

Ch. Tribune
24 May 1979

Michael Kilian On travel expenses, it seems Honest Abe wasn't

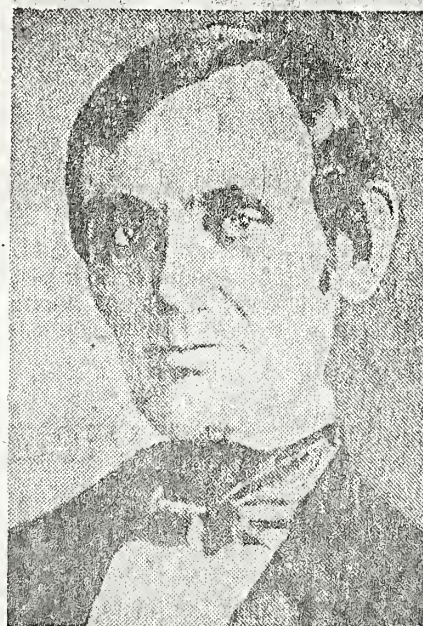
WASHINGTON—If there had been a House Ethics Committee in operation in the year 1847, one of the congressmen who might have been dragged before it was a Rep. A. Lincoln [Whig, Ill.]

It appears that Honest Abe wasn't.

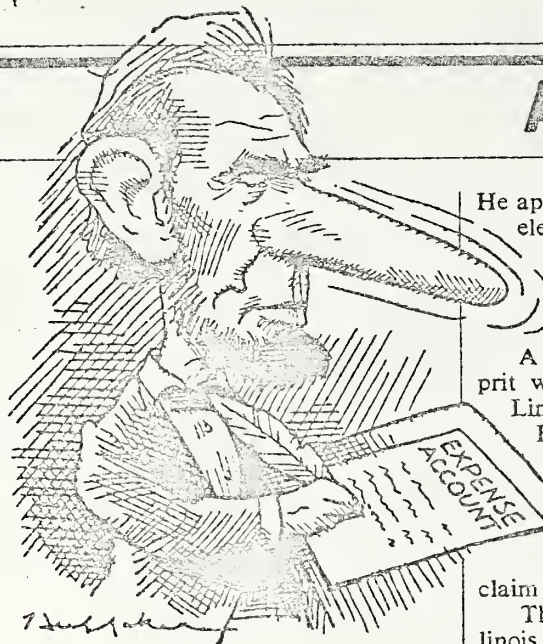
This shocking and lamentable discovery has been made by Congressman Paul Findley, successor to Lincoln's Springfield area Illinois district and author of a forthcoming book on Lincoln: "A. Lincoln: The Crucible of Congress," [Crown, 283 pages] to be published July 17.

Books on every aspect of Lincoln have been crowding the shelves for more than a century, but comparatively little has been written on his brief [1847-1848] career as a U.S. congressman.

Findley undertook to fill the gap, and in the process of researching the work,



Americana



Dishonest Abe

The Congressman from Illinois felt strapped. The pay and perquisites seemed inadequate for duties so important to the health of the Republic. Worse, he had to travel home each year to visit his constituents, and the allowance was a meager 40¢ a mile. What did he do? He padded his expense account, of course.

He apparently claimed that he had traveled a total of 3,252 miles round trip from Washington, nearly double the actual mileage, producing a reimbursement of \$2,601 for two trips home.

A familiar ploy, perhaps, but the culprit was none other than Honest Abe Lincoln, who served one term in the House from 1847 to 1849. And he got away with it. The House Committee on Mileage specified that Congressmen could return home by "the most usual route," thus allowing Lincoln to claim he took the long way home.

The accuser in this case is another Illinois Republican, Rep. Paul Findley, who has just written a book about Lincoln's years in Congress. He discovered the details of Lincoln's padded expense account in muckraking stories written at the time by Horace ("Go West, young man!") Greeley of the New York *Tribune*. Findley is less than outraged by Honest Abe's exaggerations. He points out that the future President only earned \$4 a day for his service in the House.

Happy Birthday!

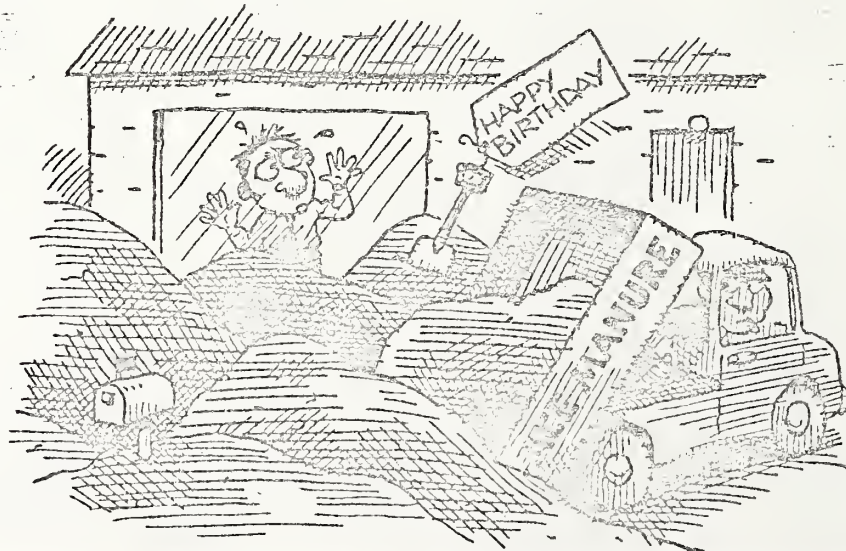
The declaration of war was one of those "comic" greeting cards. Over the years, the war escalated. Sam Matar, a car dealer in Monterey, Calif., shipped off 25 such cards to his brother John, making fun of John's being seven years older. Sam got back 50 cards making fun of his weight.

Sam hired two models in bikinis to stroll into the Chicago printing plant where John worked to sing him a happy birthday. Belly dancers appeared at Sam's auto business to perform. A plane hired by Sam streamed greetings past John's

house. A high school band hired by John played *For He's a Jolly Good Fellow*. An elephant was delivered to John's home.

Sam shipped a 4,000-lb. "Pet Rock" to John. John returned with ten tons of happy birthday pebbles and a message: "The 'Pet Rock' was pregnant. Now you take care of the kids." Two weeks ago, 4,000 lbs. of manure were dumped on John's lawn, courtesy of Sam. Said the accompanying sign: THE BABY ROCKS YOU SENT WERE NOT HOUSEBROKEN.

Sam's 33rd birthday is not until Feb. 7, but John is already thinking hard. Says Sam: "The neighbors think we're both kind of weird."



Support Your Local Police

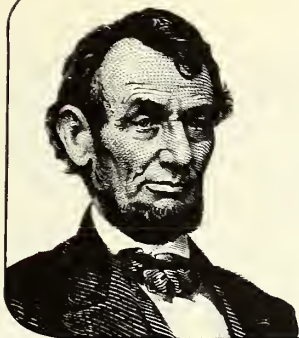
An ounce of marijuana used to cost \$5 in Marlow, Okla., and when police were trying to catch a dealer, they just dipped into their own pockets to make the buy. Like everything else, the price of grass is growing. It is \$30 an ounce these days, and that is a lot of petty cash for officers who earn \$636 a month. Their solution: a fund-raising drive to provide a \$1,500 Special Police Fund from which to buy narcotics and pay informants. So far businesses, churches and citizens of Marlow have chipped in \$1,000. Last week, using some of their new cash, police paid off an informer, then arrested a suspected dealer and confiscated \$2,500 worth of narcotics. Proving once again, as St. Paul observed, that charity rejoiceth not in iniquity.



Kind of Crooked

"The whole object of direct mail is to maximize personalization, and this machine does just that." Thus did William Ratigan, a top deputy to direct-mail political Fund Raiser Richard Viguerie, explain a little device that seems to have arrived on the merchandising scene. Viguerie's organization sends out 80 million letters a year, mostly on behalf of conservative politicians and organizations. Since people are more likely to respond to mail that has been prepared by hand, Ratigan said, a machine was used to paste stamps on the envelopes. To add to the verisimilitude, the device even sticks the stamps on slightly crooked.

Well, if too many people hear that the crooked stamps come not from a dedicated volunteer's weary hand but from a dedicated robot, the purpose of the exercise is defeated. Later, Ratigan reconsidered. He declared that the machine did not exist, but did concede that the stamps are deliberately pasted on askew. That personal touch!



Lincoln Lore

November, 1979

Bulletin of the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum. Mark E. Neely, Jr., Editor.
Mary Jane Hubler, Editorial Assistant. Published each month by the
Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46801.

Number 1701

LINCOLN, THE MEXICAN WAR, AND SPRINGFIELD'S VETERANS

Congressman Abraham Lincoln had a theory to explain the loss of his district to the Democrats following his single term in the United States House of Representatives. It was a ticklish situation because Lincoln's old law partner, Stephen Trigg Logan, was the unsuccessful Whig candidate for Lincoln's seat. Thomas L. Harris, who had served in the Mexican War as a captain of the Fourth Illinois Regiment, was the successful Democratic candidate. When asked to explain Logan's defeat, Lincoln said:

I would rather not be put upon explaining how Logan was defeated in my district. In the first place I have no particulars from there, my friends, supposing I am on the road home, not having written me. Whether there was a full turn out of the voters I have as yet not learned. The most I can now say is that a good many Whigs, without good cause, as I think, were unwilling to go for Logan, and some of them so wrote me before the election. On the other hand Harris was a Major of the war, and fought at Cerro Gordo, where several Whigs of the district fought with him. These two facts and their effects, I presume tell the whole story. That there is any political change against us in the district I cannot believe; because I wrote some time ago to every county of the district for an account of changes; and, in answer I got the names of four against us, eighty-three for us. I dislike to predict, but it seems to me the district must and will be found right side up again in November.

Unfortunately for history, Logan's close association with Lincoln prevented the Congressman from explaining precisely why a number of Whigs were discontented with Logan's candidacy. Lincoln's gentlemanly reticence caused the loss to history forever of his explanation of Logan's failings. It also helped give rise to the story that the weight of Lincoln's record of opposition to the Mexican War caused Logan's defeat.

Even without Lincoln's explanation of Logan's lack of popularity among some Whigs, the historian has at least a partial theory of the district's surprising Democratic vote. Since the voters turned out in very large

numbers, the important part of Lincoln's theory is its stress on the Mexican War veterans' vote.

Figures for the whole district are not available, but Sangamon County's poll books for the 1848 election show how Springfield's veterans voted. Most of Springfield's veterans had served in Company A of the Fourth Illinois Regiment. Not all of the soldiers in the company were from Springfield, and not all of the Springfield men voted in the 1848 election. Nevertheless, the votes of a number of the Springfield veterans are recorded:

Captain Horatio E. Roberts (Democrat)
Second Lieutenant John S. Bradford (Democrat)
Sergeant Walter Davis (Whig)
Sergeant David Logan (Whig)
Sergeant Dudley Wickersham (Democrat)
Private Grandison Addison (Democrat)
Private John J. Balantine (Democrat)
Private William W. Brown (Democrat)
Private Zebulon P. Cabaniss (Whig)
Private John Chapman (Democrat)
Private Harvey Darnell (Whig)
Private John E. Foster (Whig)
Private George W. Funk (Whig)
Private Mathew Murray (Democrat)
Private James B. Ransdall (Whig)
Private Charles F. Watson (Whig)

Private Levi P. Watts (Democrat)
Private Thomas Whitehurst (Democrat)
Private Joseph Yeakle (Whig)

Surprisingly, nine of the soldiers voted Whig (for Logan), and nine voted for Democrat Thomas L. Harris.

A number of the 1848 voters had been discharged for various disabilities and were not veterans in the same sense most of those listed above were. Still, they had enlisted to fight and deserve to be considered as men willing to serve their country in the Mexican War. In addition to John S. Bradford, who resigned on September 16, 1846, they were:

Sergeant William W. Pease (Whig)



FIGURE 1. Mexican War recruits.

From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

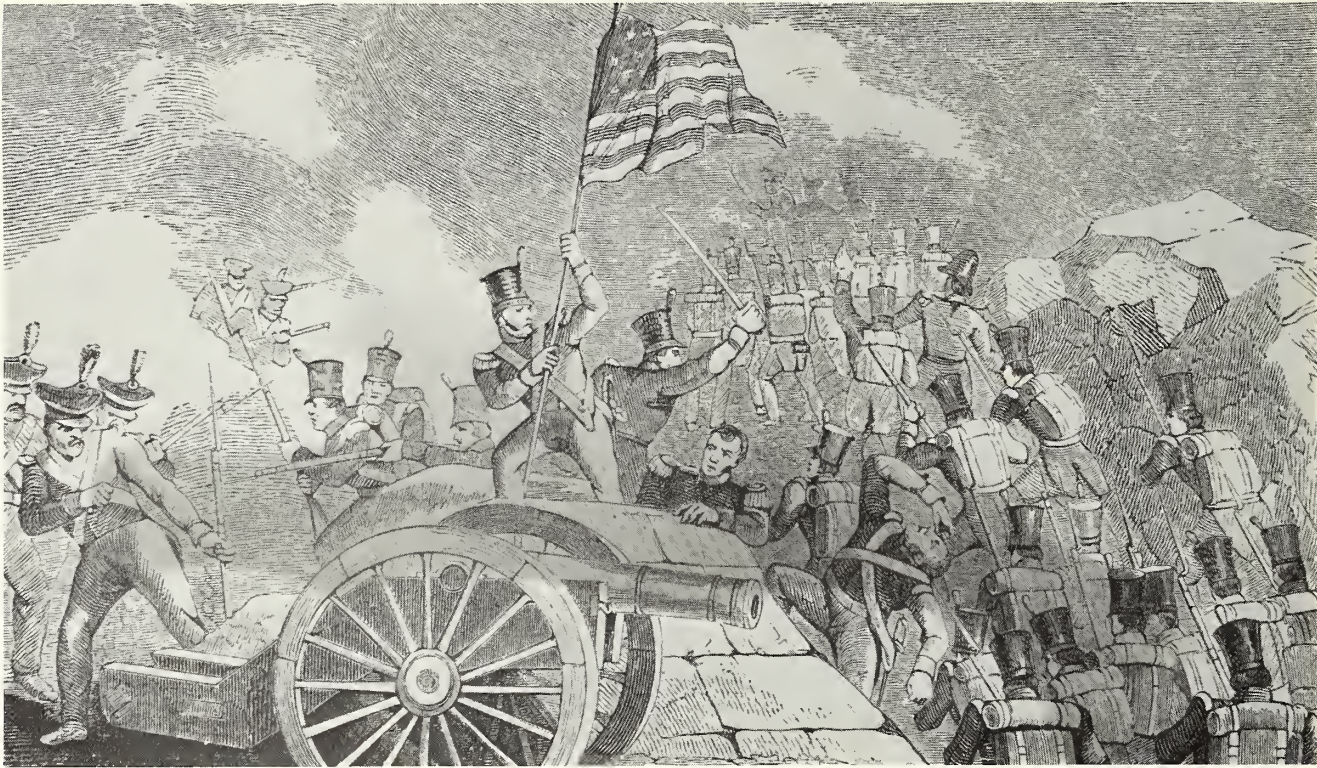


FIGURE 2. The Battle of Cerro Gordo, where Illinois's soldiers fought.

*From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum*

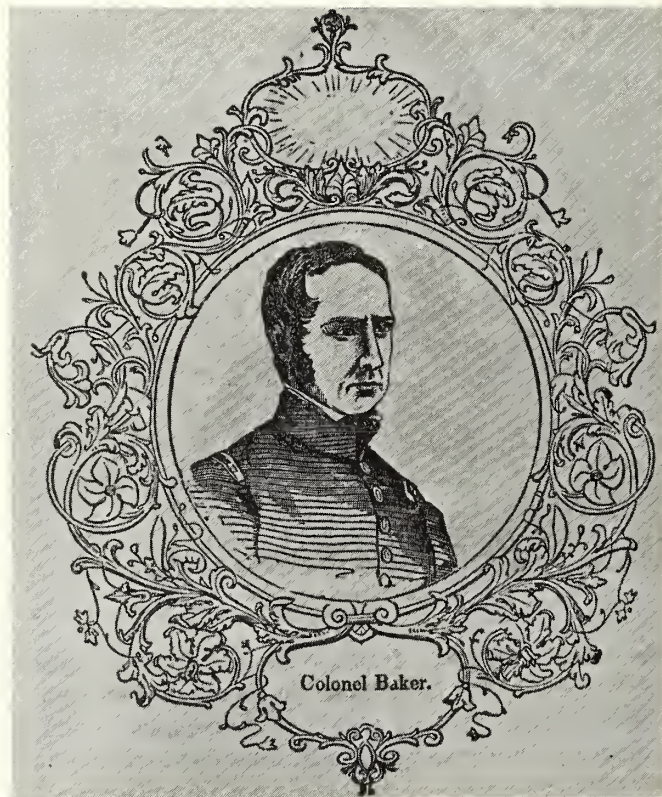
Private Samuel Cole (Whig)
Private Marion F. Mathews (Whig)
Private George C. Whitlock (Democrat)
Private James A. Waugh (Whig)

If these are added to the other veterans' votes, the Whigs captured the veteran vote in Springfield, 13 to 10.

A number of qualifications should be noted. Springfield was overwhelmingly Whig in politics in this period. Therefore, if Whigs and Democrats enlisted in numbers proportionate to their strength in the population at large, a Whig preponderance is to be expected. Problems in interpreting the handwriting in the poll books make the use of some of the names listed above questionable. Mathews, Foster, and Wickersham are questionable interpretations of the names listed in the poll books. Eliminate these three (two Whigs and a Democrat), and the vote stands at 11 to 9.

Even making these qualifications, one can see that Lincoln's theory—at least insofar as Springfield was concerned—was probably not correct. Whig soldiers fought in the war while Whig politicians opposed the war at home, but Whig veterans continued to sustain the Whig cause when the war was over. Could it be that some of the nine or ten Democratic votes came from men who previously voted Whig? Probably not. In the first place, companies elected their officers, and Company A had a Democrat as a captain. Probably a majority of the soldiers were Democrats. In the second place, soldiers were young men. Since the Fourth Illinois Regiment left for duty before election day in 1846, these men could have shown their political preference most recently only in 1844. A check of the 1850 census returns reveals that three of the ten soldiers listed in that census were too young to vote in 1844. They, and probably several of the others, were showing their political preference for the first time in 1848.

The most important qualification to bear in mind is that Lincoln was discussing the whole district. The impact of service in the Mexican War may have been much different among rural veterans. Nevertheless, the vote of Springfield's Mexican War veterans is interesting. These men did not turn against the Whig party because Lincoln had opposed the Mexican War, and a majority of them would happily have seen their old captain, Thomas L. Harris, go down to political defeat.



*From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum*

FIGURE 3. Edward D. Baker was a close friend and political ally of Abraham Lincoln's. He and John J. Hardin, the other strong Whig leader in Lincoln's congressional district, chose to serve in the Mexican War. Lincoln always had complete confidence that such Whig veterans shared his view that the war was unconstitutional and unnecessary.

A LIFE MASK DISCOVERED

A hospitalized parishioner, a pawn shop, and a Methodist minister with a good memory were the unusual factors in the recent discovery of a superb bronze casting of Leonard Wells Volk's famous life mask of Abraham Lincoln. The ailing parishioner drew Dr. O. Gerald Trigg, Senior Minister of the Gobin Memorial United Methodist Church in Greencastle, Indiana, to Terre Haute, some fifty miles away. When Dr. Trigg arrived, the patient was undergoing tests and could not have visitors for at least an hour. The vexations of pastoral visits never bother Dr. Trigg, for he is a book collector and can always kill an hour browsing dusty shelves for early books by and about Methodists.

Like most book collectors, Dr. Trigg has trouble confining his interests to one field of collecting. Curiosity is one of the most untamable of human traits. As he browsed in a Terre Haute shop, a Lincoln mask caught his eye. He might well have dismissed it as a curio had he not recalled seeing a very similar mask in the Smithsonian Institution years before. Trigg examined the mask closely and asked the proprietor where he got it. A woman from Illinois had placed it in the shop for sale more than a year previously. It had been in her family's possession for a long time, she had claimed. At the price she wanted, there had been no takers. Trigg passed it up too. He visited his parishioner and drove back to Greencastle.

Like all good collectors, Dr. Trigg was willing to do some research. His church is on the campus of DePauw University, and it was relatively easy to go to the library and consult old issues of *Lincoln Lore*. He quickly discovered that it was a Volk mask, and he decided that he should purchase it.

Nothing increases curiosity like monetary investment. Trigg began to write letters and make telephone calls to numerous historical institutions to establish the exact identity of the mask. He could tell just by looking that the mask was of high quality, but he wanted to know precisely how good it was. Travel was out of the question, but study was not. He continued to study the history of the Volk life mask carefully.

The key to explaining the quality of Trigg's casting of Lincoln's mask lay in the name "Berchem." That name appears nowhere on the mask, but the person who sold the mask originally had been married to a man named Berchem.

A poor copy of a poor copy of a 1964 letter in the files of the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum provided the essential clue. The letter was written from James E. Morris, Reference Librarian at the Chicago Historical Society, to L.E. Minkel, a collector curious about the number of casts of Lincoln's hands Volk had made. In the course of the letter, Morris said, "It seems that Mr. Jules Berchem received the original set from Leonard Volk and from these made copies both in plaster and bronze, of which the first set made from the original was presented to the Society."

The letter gave Trigg the clue he needed. Jules Berchem, who operated a bronze foundry in Chicago, is famed for casting bronze statues and busts. He did some work for fellow Chicagoan Leonard Volk, including some late copies of the Volk mask which bear in the inscription: "Copyright 1886 by L.W. Volk—J. Berchem." Dr. Trigg's mask bears a different inscription: "A. LINCOLN. 1860 L. W. VOLK • Fecit." A further complication is the mask in the Smithsonian, which is claimed to be the "original" cast because the original molds were destroyed in Volk's studio in the Chicago Fire of 1871.

Dr. Trigg is cautious in his claims for his mask, but he is certain that it is at least one of the earliest casts. Since it has an "M" stamped inside it, it is probably a "Master," an important casting. It is possible, since Trigg's mask incorporates all the distinctive marks of the Smithsonian mask, that Volk made new molds after the fire from the bronze Berchem master. And these molds are the ones that provided the Smithsonian casting. Such an argument, of course, hinges critically on the truth of the statement in the Chicago Historical Society letter.

To see the mask is to be willing to grant that Dr. Trigg has a plausible case. Dr. R. Gerald McMurtry, former editor of *Lincoln Lore*, stated upon examining it that it was the best he had ever seen. Likewise, Harold Holzer, New York City's authority on Lincoln iconography, examined photographs of the mask and also called it the best he had seen.

Among private collectors, there are two breeds: "private" private collectors and "public" private collectors. The former, usually from fear of thieves, hoard their valuables and shun publicity. The latter, from both pride and public spirit, are willing to share their good fortune with others. Happily, Dr. Trigg is among the latter sort, and he plans to lend his fine mask for display at the DePauw University Archives and the Indiana State Museum in the future.

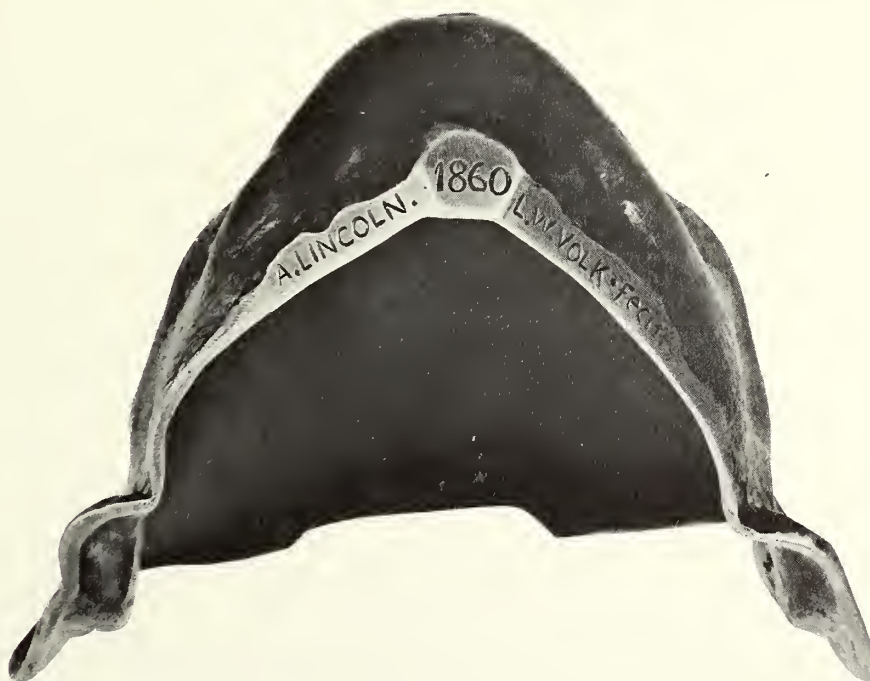


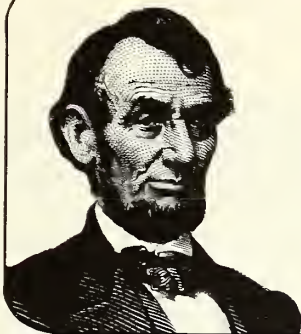
FIGURE 4. The inscription under the chin of the Trigg mask.

From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum



*From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum*

FIGURE 5. Note the fine detail in the Trigg bronze mask. Volk used the original mask as the basis for numerous Lincoln busts, none of which equal the mask in dramatic quality. Volk could not resist somewhat idealizing the busts he produced. Despite the eerie quality of the mask (which necessarily lacks eyes and hair), it is a wonderful piece of work. Although numerous inferior plaster copies exist, it is hard to find a good bronze or plaster copy even in museums with substantial Lincoln collections.



Lincoln Lore

January, 1980

Bulletin of the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum. Mark E. Neely, Jr., Editor.
Mary Jane Hubler, Editorial Assistant. Published each month by the
Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46801.

Number 1703

LINCOLN AND SLAVERY: AN OVERVIEW

Abraham Lincoln was a native of a slave state, Kentucky. In 1811 Hardin County, where Lincoln was born two years before, contained 1,007 slaves and 1,627 white males above the age of sixteen. His father's brother Mordecai owned a slave. His father's Uncle Isaac may have owned over forty slaves. The Richard Berry family, with whom Lincoln's mother Nancy Hanks lived before her marriage to Thomas Lincoln, owned slaves. Thomas and Nancy Lincoln, however, were members of a Baptist congregation which had separated from another church because of opposition to slavery. This helps explain Lincoln's statement in 1864 that he was "naturally anti-slavery" and could "not remember when I did not so think, and feel." In 1860 he claimed that his father left Kentucky for Indiana's free soil "partly on account of slavery."

Nothing in Lincoln's political career is inconsistent with his claim to have been "naturally anti-slavery." In 1836, when resolutions came before the Illinois House condemning abolitionism, declaring that the Constitution sanctified the right of property in slaves, and denying the right of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, Lincoln was one of six to vote against them (seventy-seven voted in favor). Near the end of the term, March 3, 1837, Lincoln and fellow Whig Dan Stone wrote a protest against the resolutions which stated that "the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy." It too denounced abolitionism as more likely to exacerbate than abate the evils of slavery and asserted the right of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia (though the right should not be exercised without the consent of the District's citizens). Congress, of course, had no right to interfere with slavery in the states. In 1860 Lincoln could honestly point to the consistency of his antislavery convictions over the last twenty-three years. That early protest "briefly defined his position on the slavery question; and so far as it goes, it was then the same that it is now."

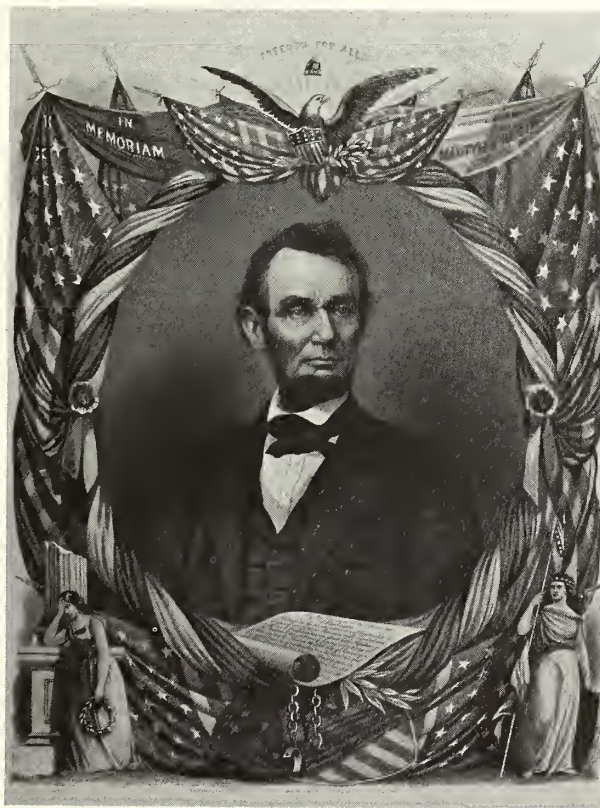
In his early political career in the 1830s and 1840s, Lincoln had faith in the benign operation of American political institutions. Though "opposed to slavery" throughout the period,

he "rested in the hope and belief that it was in course of ultimate extinction." For that reason, it was only "a minor question" to him. For the sake of keeping the nation together, Lincoln thought it "a paramount duty" to leave slavery in the states alone. He never spelled out the basis of his faith entirely, but he had confidence that the country was ever seeking to approximate the ideals of the Declaration of Independence. All men would be free when slavery, restricted to the areas where it already existed, exhausted the soil, became unprofitable, and was abolished by the slave-holding states themselves or perhaps by numerous individual emancipations. Reaching this goal, perhaps by the end of the century, required of dutiful politicians only "that we should never knowingly lend ourselves directly or indirectly, to prevent . . . slavery from dying a natural death — to find new places for it to live in, when it can no longer exist in the old."

This statement, made in 1845, expressed Lincoln's lack of concern over the annexation of Texas, where slavery already existed. As a Congressman during the Mexican War, Lincoln supported the Wilmot Proviso because it would prevent the growth of slavery in parts of the Mexican cession where the institution did not already exist. He still considered slavery a "distracting" question, one that might destroy America's experiment in popular government if politicians were to "enlarge and aggravate" it either by seeking to expand slavery or to attack it in the states.

Lincoln became increasingly worried around 1850 when he read John C. Calhoun's denunciations of the Declaration of Independence. When he read a similar denunciation by a Virginia clergyman, he grew more upset. Such things undermined his confidence because they showed that some Americans did not wish to approach the ideals of the Declaration of Independence; for some, they were no longer ideals at all. But these were the statements of a society directly interested in the preservation of the institution, and Lincoln did not become enough alarmed to aggravate the slave question. He began even to lose interest in politics.

The passage of Stephen A. Douglas's Kansas-Nebraska Act



From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 1. Like many other prints of Lincoln published soon after his death, this one celebrated the Emancipation Proclamation as his greatest act.

in 1854 changed all this. Lincoln was startled when territory previously closed to slavery was opened to the possibility of its introduction by local vote. He was especially alarmed at the fact that this change was led by a Northerner with no direct interest in slavery to protect.

In 1841 Lincoln had seen a group of slaves on a steamboat being sold South from Kentucky to a harsher (so he assumed) slavery. Immediately after the trip, he noted the irony of their seeming contentment with their lot. They had appeared to be the happiest people on board. After the Kansas-Nebraska Act, he wrote about the same episode, still vivid to him, as "a continual torment to me." Slavery, he said, "has, and continually exercises, the power of making me miserable."

Lincoln repeatedly stated that slaveholders were no worse than Northerners would be in the same situation. Having inherited an undesirable but socially explosive political institution, Southerners made the best of a bad situation. Like all Americans before the Revolution, they had denounced Great Britain's forcing slavery on the colonies with the slave trade, and, even in the 1850s, they admitted the humanity of the Negro by despising those Southerners who dealt with the Negro as property, pure and simple — slave traders. But he feared that the ability of Northerners to see that slavery was morally wrong was in decline. This, almost as surely as disunion, could mean the end of the American experiment in freedom, for any argument for slavery which ignored the moral wrong of the institution could be used to enslave any man, white or black. If lighter men were to enslave darker men, then "you are to be slave to the first man you meet, with a fairer skin than your own." If superior intellect determined masters, then "you are to be slave to the first man you meet, with an intellect superior to your own." Once the moral distinction between slavery and freedom were forgotten, nothing could stop its spread. It was "founded in the selfishness of man's nature," and that selfishness could overcome any barriers of climate or geography.

By 1856 Lincoln was convinced that the "sentiment in favor of white slavery . . . prevailed in all the slave state papers, except those of Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri and Maryland." The people of the South had "an immediate palpable and immensely great pecuniary interest" in the question; "while, with the people of the North, it is merely an abstract question of moral right." Unfortunately, the latter formed a looser bond than economic self-interest in two billion dollars worth of slaves. And the Northern ability to resist was steadily undermined by the moral indifference to slavery epitomized by Douglas's willingness to see slavery voted up or down in the territories. The Dred Scott decision in 1857 convinced Lincoln that the Kansas-Nebraska Act had been the beginning of a conspiracy to make slavery perpetual, national, and universal. His House-Divided Speech of 1858 and his famous debates with Douglas stressed the specter of a conspiracy to nationalize slavery.

Lincoln's claims in behalf of the slaves were modest and did not make much of the Negro's abilities outside of slavery. The Negro "is not my equal . . . in color, perhaps not in moral or intellectual endowment," Lincoln said, but "in the right to put into his mouth the bread that his own hands have earned, he is the equal of every other man, white or black." Lincoln objected to slavery primarily because it violated the doctrine of the equality of all men announced in the Declaration of Independence. "As I would not be a *slave*, so I would not be a *master*," Lincoln said. "This expresses my idea of democracy. Whatever differs from this, to the extent of the difference, is no democracy."

Lincoln had always worked on the assumption that the Union was more important than abolishing slavery. As long as the country was approaching the ideal of freedom for all men, even if it took a hundred years, it made no sense to destroy the freest country in the world. When it became apparent to Lincoln that the country might not be approaching that ideal, it somewhat confused his thinking. In 1854 he admitted that as "Much as I hate slavery, I would consent to the extension of it rather than see the Union dissolved, just as I would consent to any GREAT evil, to avoid a GREATER one." As his fears of a conspiracy to nationalize

slavery increased, he ceased to make such statements. In the secession crisis he edged closer toward making liberty more important than Union. In New York City on February 20, 1861, President-elect Lincoln said:

There is nothing that can ever bring me willingly to consent to the destruction of this Union, under which . . . the whole country has acquired its greatness, unless it were to be that thing for which the Union itself was made. I understand a ship to be made for the carrying and preservation of the cargo, and so long as the ship can be saved, with the cargo, it should never be abandoned. This Union should likewise never be abandoned unless it fails and the probability of its preservation shall cease to exist without throwing the passengers and cargo overboard. So long, then, as it is possible that the prosperity and the liberties of the people can be preserved in the Union, it shall be my purpose at all times to preserve it.

The Civil War saw Lincoln move quickly to save the Union by stretching and, occasionally, violating the Constitution. Since he had always said that constitutional scruple kept him from bothering slavery in the states, it is clear that early in the war he was willing to go much farther to save the Union than he was willing to go to abolish slavery. Yet he interpreted it as his constitutional duty to save the Union, even if to do so he had to violate some small part of that very Constitution. There certainly was no constitutional duty to do anything about slavery. For over a year, he did not.

On August 22, 1862, Lincoln responded to criticism from Horace Greeley by stating his slavery policy:

If there be those who would not save the Union, unless they could at the same time *save* slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time *destroy* slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle *is* to save the Union, and is *not* either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing *any* slave I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing *all* the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would also do that. What I do about slavery, and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do *not* believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do *less* whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do *more* whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors; and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views.

I have here stated my purpose according to my view of *official* duty; and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed *personal* wish that all men every where could be free.

The Emancipation Proclamation, announced just one month later, was avowedly a military act, and Lincoln boasted of his consistency almost two years later by saying, "I have done no official act in mere deference to my abstract judgment and feeling on slavery."

Nevertheless, he had changed his mind in some regards. Precisely one year before he issued the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, Lincoln had criticized General John C. Frémont's emancipation proclamation for Missouri by saying that "as to . . . the liberation of slaves" it was "*purely political*, and not within the range of *military* law, or necessity."

If a commanding General finds a necessity to seize the farm of a private owner, for a pasture, an encampment, or a fortification, he has the right to do so, and to so hold it, as long as the necessity lasts; and this is within military law, because within military necessity. But to say the farm shall no longer belong to the owner, or his heirs forever; and this as well when the farm is not needed for military purposes as when it is, is purely political, without the savor of military law about it. And the same is true of slaves. If the General needs them, he can seize them, and use them; but when the need is past, it is not for him to fix their permanent future

condition. That must be settled according to laws made by law-makers, and not by military proclamations. The proclamation in the point in question, is simply "dictatorship." It assumes that the general may do *anything* he pleases—confiscate the lands and free the slaves of *loyal* people, as well as of disloyal ones. And going the whole figure I have no doubt would be more popular with some thoughtless people, than that which has been done! But I cannot assume this reckless position; nor allow others to assume it on my responsibility. You speak of it as being the only means of *saving* the government. On the contrary it is itself the surrender of the government. Can it be pretended that it is any longer the government of the U.S. — any government of Constitution and laws, — wherein a General, or a President, may make permanent rules of property by proclamation?

I do not say Congress might not with propriety pass a law, on the point, just such as General Fremont proclaimed. I do not say I might not, as a member of Congress, vote for it. What I object to, is, that I as President, shall expressly or impliedly seize and exercise the permanent legislative functions of the government.

Critics called this inconsistency; Lincoln's admirers have called it "growth." Whatever the case, just as Lincoln's love of Union caused him to handle the Constitution somewhat roughly, so his hatred of slavery led him, more slowly, to treat the Constitution in a manner inconceivable to him in 1861. Emancipation, if somewhat more slowly, was allowed about the same degree of constitutional latitude the Union earned in Lincoln's policies.

The destruction of slavery never became the avowed object of the war, but by insisting on its importance, militarily, to saving the Union, Lincoln made it constitutionally beyond criticism and, in all that really mattered, an aim of the war. In all practical applications, it was a condition of peace — and was so announced in the Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction of December 8, 1863, and repeatedly defended in administration statements thereafter. He reinforced this fusion of aims by insisting that the Confederacy was an attempt to establish "a new Nation, . . . with the primary, and fundamental object to maintain, enlarge, and perpetuate human slavery," thus making the enemy and slavery one and the same.

Only once did Lincoln apparently change his mind. In the desperately gloomy August of 1864, when defeat for the administration seemed certain, Lincoln bowed to pressure from Henry J. Raymond long enough to draft a letter empowering Raymond to propose peace with Jefferson Davis on the condition of reunion alone, all other questions (including slavery, of course) to be settled by a convention

afterwards. Lincoln never finished the letter, and the offer was never made. Moreover, as things looked in August, Lincoln was surrendering only what he could not keep anyway. He was so convinced that the Democratic platform would mean the loss of the Union, that he vowed in secret to work to save the Union before the next President came into office in March. He could hope for some cooperation from Democrats in this, as they professed to be as much in favor of Union as the Republicans. Without the Union, slavery could not be abolished anyhow, and the Democrats were committed to restoring slavery.

Lincoln had made abolition a party goal in 1864 by making support for the Thirteenth Amendment a part of the Republican platform. The work he performed for that measure after his election proved that his antislavery views had not abated. Near the end of his life, he repeated in a public speech one of his favorite arguments against slavery: "Whenever [I] hear any one, arguing for slavery I feel a strong impulse to see it tried on him personally."



From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 3. This Indianapolis edition of the Emancipation Proclamation, published in 1886, obviously copied the edition in Figure 2. Note, however, that the harsher scenes of slavery are removed — a sign of the post-Reconstruction political ethos.

2

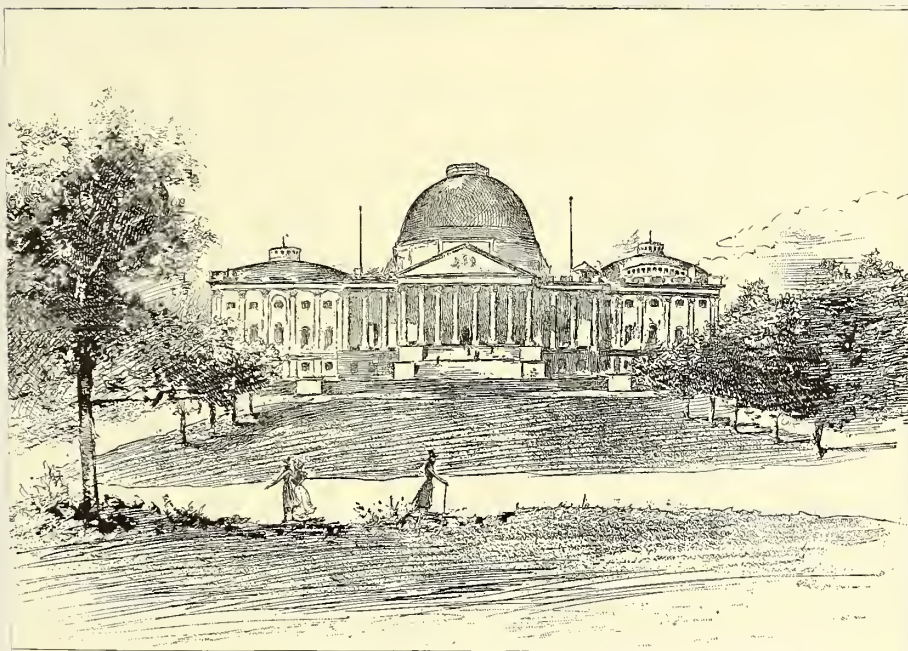
4-29

29. CASS FOR PRESIDENT, 1848. Lincoln served in Congress during the sessions of '47-'48 and of '48-'49. His most remembered activities were the criticism of President Polk and the Mexican War in the "Spot" resolutions, his attempt to curtail Slavery in the district of Columbia, and his political tirade against the Democratic nominee for President, Lewis Cass, ^{who} which is humorously treated in the contemporary cartoon of the picture. This and much other material of great value for study will be found in Shaw's Abraham Lincoln, vol.1, ch.14. See also Bvl.ch.7.p.370. After congress adjourned in '48, Lincoln was active in the campaign for the Taylor, the ^{Candidate.} Whig Candidate. His visit to New England in the autumn is memorable. Bvl.pp.464-468.

Use Shaw I. p.133



Case for President



THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON IN 1848.

FIRST SPEECH IN CONGRESS.

General McClelland Tells of Lincoln's Introduction in the House—Interview with Union Congressman from the South—Tribute of Former Opponent.

I became acquainted with Mr. Lincoln in 1836 at Vandalia, then the capital of Illinois. A measure was pending in the Legislature, contemplating the removal of the capital from Vandalia to Springfield, and during the contest over the measure I often met him. I found him earnest in the advocacy of the removal of the capital. I saw that he was a man of keen perception and clear ideas. In the session of 1841-'42 I was in the Legislature when he was reelected from the Springfield district. We met frequently during the session. It was at a time when the Democratic majority was pushing measures to wind up the old State Bank. I recall that, while the Democrats had a working majority, they were anxious over the result of the final vote. I was the leader of the Democratic majority and Lincoln was practically the leader of the Whigs. When it came to vote on the bill the Whigs attempted to defeat it by breaking the quorum. Mr. Lincoln crawled through a window and got out of the hall, and I well remember the great laugh his act caused, as his tall form disappeared from view. We shouted after him the old saying: "He who fights and runs away," etc. The Democrats finally succeeded in passing the bill.

When Mr. Lincoln was elected to Congress he and I went to Washington together. I heard his first speech in Congress. He was earnest and spoke with greater rapidity than I ever had heard him speak before. I attributed it to the fact that he had only an hour allotted him and wanted to say as much as possible in that time. His deficiency in gesticulation was fully made up by the deep earnestness of his manner.

After Mr. Lincoln was inaugurated President I had frequent conversations with him on the situation. He thought at first we would escape war. I told him he was wrong, as I knew the feeling of Southern Congressmen in Washington was for a separate republic. I had been in Washington the preceding session and I realized the feeling of the South better than Mr. Lincoln did. I told him of an interview I had had with President Buchanan at a time when there was a rumor of an advance of a military force from Virginia and Maryland to seize the Capitol, during which I had urged Buchanan to take steps to preserve Washington from capture.

I recall distinctly an interview I had with Mr. Lincoln in company with a Congressman from Louisiana. This Congressman was in favor of maintaining the Union, but he was frightened by the talk of the forcible abolition of slavery. In reply to a question regarding Mr. Lincoln's position on slavery, the President stretched forth his arms and said with deep solemnity: "All I want the South to do is to obey the constitution and the laws." He said this with extreme earnestness, and the Southerner was impressed deeply.

H. C. McCLELLAND.

AS A POLITICIAN.

Much Like Other Men in Practical Politics—Both Good and Great and His Character and Services Hardly Will Be Forgotten by the People of America.

Mr. Lincoln's character and services will hardly be forgotten or fail of appreciation. I saw much of him as a politician in Illinois, and was in Washington before and after the Presidential election of 1864, and was made to know that in matters of politics—"practical politics"—Mr. Lincoln was much as other men are. I liked him as well as a man both good and great as he was should be liked.

W. L. MORRISON.

Avoided Bitter Slavery Fight Member of Congress

BY THOMAS R. HENRY.

"ALL those who expect to go to Heaven, stand up," shouted the Rev. Peter Cartwright.

Everybody in the candle-lit, plank church arose except one man. He was slouched on a seat near the door. All eyes turned upon him. The venerable prairie circuit rider glared at him. He knew the intruder and held him in a proper contempt. He had followed his career ever since the fellow was selling whisky down in New Salem.

"Now, all who expect to go to hell, stand up," the preacher thundered. His fanatical eyes were focused on the man in the back seat. There was no response.

"Well, then," he demanded, "where do you expect to go?"

The man arose, slowly and awkwardly—a tall, ungainly figure.

"I didn't come here tonight calculating to take any part in this service," he said. "But seein' you insist on it, I'm goin' to Washington."

There were suppressed laughs from some of the more worldly minded of the congregation. The circuit rider didn't see the joke. The campaign then in progress for a seat in Congress between himself and this scoffer at sacred fundamentals was no laughing matter. His opponent was a man whose soul had not been saved.

The intruder sat down. The Rev. Peter Cartwright, savor of untold thousands of souls, preacher of hell-fire and the abolition of slavery, went on with his sermon. He condemned the institution of slavery—and card playing, liquor, dancing, reading novels free thinking and all frivolity.

The preacher was an old man. He had been on the circuit of these frontier settlements, with their rude log and board chapels, for almost 60 years. The longer he preached the more conscious he became of the tide of hell-fire which was sweeping up over the prairie grass lands. There were some who would temporize on issues of morality. There was no temporizing in the heart of the circuit rider.

He combined preaching and politics. Now he was Democratic candidate for Congress from the sixth Illinois district. His opponent, less than half his age, was this clownish, easy-going Springfield lawyer. The Rev. Peter Cartwright hoped that his hearers would understand. A vote for the Whig ticket meant a vote for the devil. There was no certainty that the man in the back seat held sound opinions on any vital issues. He was a free-soiler—so much to his credit. But he was, at best, only a lukewarm abolitionist.

This man going to Washington—indeed! Not if the voters showed any common sense. Yet there was an unmistakable Whig sentiment through the counties. Probably it would be a close race. But the fellow was not going to Washington—he was on his way to a hotter city.

Great, indeed, was the circuit rider's contempt for his political opponent. A few years later he wrote his autobiog-

raphy. There were nearly 600 closely printed pages. He didn't mention the name of Abraham Lincoln.

* * * *

THE evening of April 18, 1848, in the dining room of Mrs. Spriggs' boarding house in Duff Green's Row on Capitol Hill in Washington.

Six or seven Whig Congressmen well seated about the supper table. Ordinarily they were jovial comrades. The life of the boarding house was the tall, ungainly Representative from Illinois, with his unfailing reservoir of homespun anecdotes, applicable to every occasion.

Sometimes, it was true, Lincoln was a bit irritating. He voted consistently enough according to sound Whig principles. One speech he had made on the responsibility for the bloody and costly war with Mexico had bothered Polk, who occupied the White House at the other end of the Avenue. But the fellow was a temporizer. He had the unhappy faculty of seeing the other fellow's side of the argument.

There was one subject upon which some of the men who boarded with Mrs. Spriggs didn't admit any other side. They didn't consider it a matter of politics. It was a matter for blows, not words. It caused bitter rows at the table when any Southern members were present.

Yet even on the question of the abolition of slavery this man Lincoln wanted to go slowly. This was irritating to Joshua R. Giddings of Ohio. Yet he liked the Illinois fellow. He was educating him. He had great hopes of bringing around the Springfield lawyer—who was becoming rather friendly with Alexander Stephens of Georgia—to the viewpoint of an uncompromising abolitionist before the session was over. Lincoln would be useful as a missionary back in Illinois. There wasn't much likelihood that he would be sent back to Congress. He hadn't made a particularly good record.

So Giddings was spending a good deal of time with the new member. Both of them had left their families back home. They took long walks of evenings. They went to band concerts. Strange, unbelievable things were taking place in Washington just then. There was a New York lady in town who claimed that she could communicate with the dead. She was holding seances in some of the most fashionable homes in Georgetown. Giddings himself had seen a piano rise from the floor when she placed her fingers on it. He had heard from her lips secrets which he had supposed were known only to himself and loved ones who had passed beyond the veil.

He took Lincoln with him to some of these seances. The spirits, speaking through the lips of the lady, had told them that the master of the realms beyond the stars was provoked and grieved at the whipping, selling and murdering of his black children here in the United States and was preparing to bring down a terrible judgment on the people. Giddings agreed with this.

The Ohio member was almost con-

vinced of the claims of spiritualism. Lincoln was skeptical, but admitted he couldn't explain the queer phenomena they had witnessed. The whole mess talked it over frequently at the supper table. Was it all a clever fake, or was the world on the eve of a great revelation?

But tonight Joshua R. Giddings was in no mood to argue about spiritualism. It had been a bitter, exciting day in the House. Down in the muddy little city below them there was a seething fury against him. They wanted to lynch him.

Still he couldn't make his fellow member quite see his point of view. Lincoln agreed that slavery should be abolished in the District of Columbia. But he pointed out that many of the citizens had large sums of money invested in slaves. They would be ruined if their property were taken away from them. Why not give them a chance to cleanse their own souls of the great evil? Lincoln even had been to call on Mayor Seaton with a plan which the city executive—himself none too easy of conscience over the keeping of human beings in bondage—had approved. The two of them felt that if the people of Washington were given an opportunity to sell their slaves to the Government, with a law in force that no more could be purchased, these citizens themselves soon would put an end to slavery. Nobody would be injured. The same good would be accomplished, with a little delay, as if Congress passed an uncompromising law abolishing the insti-

tution at one stroke, totally and forever.

There was no room for such a compromise in the heart of Giddings—especially after the insults to which he had been subjected that day. He felt rather angry at Lincoln for proposing such a thing. It seemed almost like a breach of friendship. But he would be patient. His friend's mind was developing. Giddings wondered whether the tall man from Illinois had been in the fringe of the crowd at the jail that day—the crowd which shouted "Lynch him." One thing he knew. If the Washington rabble had started anything Lincoln could have thrashed any ten of them—and doubtless would have. The whole thing was a part of his education.

Probably never before had the city of Washington witnessed quite such a scene. It had been a show-down between the slave-owners and the abolitionists.

* * * *

THE whole thing had started on the morning of April 14, when some of Washington's best families awoke to find that their fires were not lit and their breakfasts not cooked. Domestic servants—the highest priced of slaves—had disappeared during the night. The news spread from house to house. Before noon a check-up showed that 90 black men and women—the latter carrying their children with them—were gone. It obviously was a well-engineered plot of those abolitionists. A man who would steal another man's slave—hanging was too good for him. Those scoundrels from Maine and

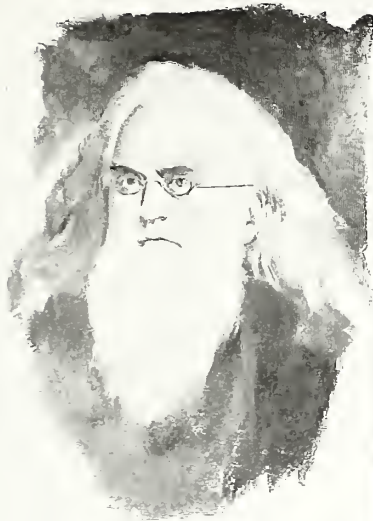
An indication as to where Lincoln's Whig congressional associates lived during his service as a Representative in Washington.

John J. Crittenden Papers, Library of Congress, Washington.

Alexander H. Stephens to Crittenden, Washington, Dec. 6, 1848.

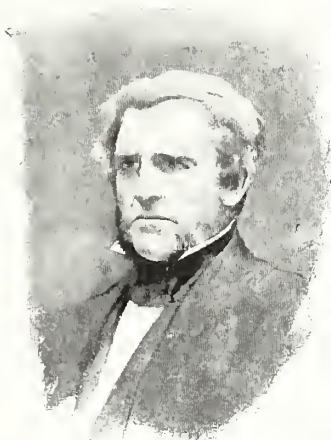
"...Our messes are not yet formed- I am myself back at my old quarters on the Hill with Vinton McLean & Co./ Preston is going to remain at Gadsby/. Duncan is up near the White House/. Smith is at Mrs. Whitcombs /Whitwiths??/? on 4¹/₂- Winthrop is at his same place & & &c-"

/NOTE BY H. HAMILTON: The expression "& Co" may include Lincoln./



SIDNEY BREESE, COLLEAGUE OF LINCOLN'S
IN CONGRESS.

Sidney Breese was born at Whitesboro, New York, July 15, 1800; graduated from Union College, New York, in 1818; and at once removed to Illinois, where he was admitted to the bar. He became active in the Democratic party, and served in many important positions; United States District Attorney, Judge of the Supreme Court, and United States Senator. He died in 1878.



WILLIAM A. RICHARDSON, COLLEAGUE OF
LINCOLN'S IN CONGRESS.

Richardson removed to Illinois from Kentucky about 1831. He was a prominent Democratic politician, serving in the state legislature and in Congress. He was a captain in the Mexican War, Governor of the territory of Nebraska in 1858, and in 1863 the successor of Douglas in the United States Senate. He died in 1875.



ROBERT C. WINTHROP, SPEAKER OF THE
THIRTIETH CONGRESS.

Born in Boston in 1809, graduated at Harvard, and studied law with Daniel Webster. Winthrop's career as a statesman began with his election to the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1834. He remained there until elected to Congress in 1840, where he served ten years. In 1847 he was elected Speaker by the Whigs. In 1850 Winthrop was appointed Senator to take Daniel Webster's place, but he was defeated in his efforts to be reelected. Candidate for governor in the same year, he was also defeated. He retired from politics after this, though often offered various candidacies. Winthrop was especially noted as an orator.

was as like him as two people could be. It had long been an understood thing, that when Wilts went West, Mandy Bachelder would go with him as Mrs. Murch.

There was a wedding that fall, on Thanksgiving Day morning—Wilts and Mandy. They moved home, that is to say, to Wilts' home, that afternoon.

That day, at the store at the corners, a fellow named Gallison, supposed to be connected with the "serenade-gang," hinted to Wilts that he hoped he (Willis) was "laying in a stock of good things" for the "celebration" that night.

"What do you mean by 'celebration'?" Wilts asked him.

"Oh, you'll find out soon enough," said Gallison, laughing, and with a wink to the others.

"You mean the 'serenade-gang'?" said Wilts.

"Like enough," replied Gallison. "Shouldn't wonder a mite."

"You expect me to open my house and furnish supper for the 'roughs' of the town? Then let me tell you, once for all, that I shall do nothing of the sort; and if you care to take my advice, you will keep away and mind your own business and leave me to mind mine. I've no money to spend in entertainments of any kind."

"Perhaps you mean to shoot us," sneered Gallison. "We've seen guns before."

"No matter what I mean to do," said Wilts. "I warn you to keep away."

This warning on Wilts' part only stimulated these unprincipled fellows to do their worst. They turned out in full costume; and at exactly ten o'clock that evening, they opened the fracas with a discharge of guns, tooting of horns and drumming, accompanied by a shower of brick-bats on the roof.

We heard it all over the neighborhood, and wondered, not without some misgivings, what Wilts would do.

looking through the auger-hole; and one of them now slipped down the back stairs into the woodhouse, and going round on the piazza, quietly hasped the kitchen door on the outside.

They were not long drinking up the cider. Then they began shouting for Wilts and Mandy.

"Don't think you'll get off with a mess of apples and cider! You haven't seen the last of us so easy! Ten dollars for drinks, Wilts! We must have something more out of you!"

"Well," said Wilts, through the auger-hole, "*you shall have something more!*" and with that, he blew a whole paper of cayenne pepper through a piece of lead pipe down upon that hot stove!

In an instant, the whole kitchen was full of the fiery, pungent dust!

There came up an enraged shout, followed by a rush for the door. The intruders found the door hard and fast.

It is quite useless to try fully to depict what followed. The invaders screeched, pounded and sneezed. Some begged and screamed; some threw themselves flat on the floor with their faces down, to get air. They could neither see nor breathe in that fiery atmosphere.

At last, one of the serenaders, by dint of pounding with the butt of a gun, fairly stove off one of the plank shutters from the front window, and the whole party tumbled out, nearly blinded, and sneezing as if their heads would burst. They were so badly punished that they hurried off at once, and we heard that several of them were sick a week.

The story flew through the town, and the serenaders were joked and jeered at by the people. They had to confess themselves beaten. "*Huh-gish-oo!*" was the joke which they heard on all sides. That was the last *charivari* they ever attempted.

For the Companion.

REMINISCENCES OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By Charles H. Brainard.

In the latter part of the year 1847 I became acquainted, in Washington City, with Abraham Lincoln, a Representative in Congress from the State of Illinois. He was the only "Whig" in the delegation from that State, his colleagues, six in number, being all Democrats.

It was not long after he had taken his seat in the House of Representatives before he became a great favorite with the members and officers of that body. Although he possessed but few personal attractions, his figure being tall, lean and lank, and utterly wanting in grace and symmetry, yet his pleasant and expressive face, his mild and musical voice, which was ever attuned to kindness, and a rich fund of wit and humor, which found vent in anecdotes, illustrated his conversation, and gave force and point to his public speeches, drew unto him all sorts of men, irrespective of party.

Whenever he addressed the House, he commanded the individual attention of all present. If his speeches sometimes lacked rhetorical grace and finish, they were more than made up for by the force and vigor of his arguments. He seemed hardly conscious of his movements until he had crossed the area, and stood face to face with his auditors on the Democratic side of the hall, when he would suddenly turn, and rapidly walking back to his desk, glance at his manuscript, and then resume his walk. He thus occupied his allotted hour.

"Military Coats" was the subject of this speech. I doubt if any speech comparable to it in witty sarcasm has ever been delivered in the halls of Congress.

The presidential candidate of the Whig party at this time was Gen. Zachary Taylor, the hero of the Mexican War, while that of the Democratic party was Gen. Lewis Cass, a Senator from Michigan, who was in the military service of the United States in the War of 1812, and distinguished himself as a volunteer *aide-de-camp* to Gen. Harrison at the battle of the Thames.

In the speech of the member from Georgia the Whig party were said to have deserted all their principles, and taken shelter under the military coat of Gen. Taylor. In other words, their chief reliance for success was upon the military reputation of their candidate.



- 12
6. Votes for Campbell, for speaker
 - 7 " " Campbell " clerk
 - 8 " " Sergeant " Large
 - " " " Homer " Counselor
 - " " " M'Connell " Postmaster
 - 9 appoints on committee on the Post
office and Post Roads, also on
the committee of Expenditures on
the war department
 - 14 Votes for Gurley for chaplain
 - 20 Presents petition from A. G. Harvey
"Spot"
 - 22 Presents ~~some~~ resolutions.

- Jan
4. Presents petition of James Sample
 5. Replies to Botts of Virginia ~~on~~
in support of Postmaster General
 6. Explains attitude of P. O. Committee
on above question
 11. obtains floor but ~~does not~~ ^{House adjourn before he has} opportunity
to speak.
 12. Attacks Polk's war Policy

Jan
19.

Reports bill for relief of William
Fuller and Orlando Saltmarsh.

24 Presents petition of John Dawson

25 Presents petition of citizens of Scott
County, Del.

Feb

7 Presents memorial of citizens of
Taylorwell County Del.

18 Presents petition from citizens
of Edgar County.

Mar

9 Reports a bill from com on P. O.

29 Speaks on bill granting
military bounty lands.

Apr.

3. Lincoln moves to suspend rules to allow him to submit Senate resolution for purchase of hemp for navy.

29 Present a memorial of the Peers of Abraham Lincoln.

May

11. Moves to reconsider

Wisconsin admiralty bill

11. Speaks on policy of granting
alternate method of loans

11. Rith ~~draws~~ previous motion

12. Debates bill for settling claim
of Richard W. Meacham, deceased

30. Moves the previous motion
~~and~~ for the adoption
of an amendment,

June

20 Speakes in favor of
internal improvements

July known previous question
13 on necessity of fines
of obstructions.

17 moves to suspend rules to
permit the introduction of a P.O. Bill

18 Speakes on bill providing
establishment of Post Roads

24 ~~Gen~~ obtains floor &
shook but ~~relinquishes it~~
gives way to committee.

27 ~~Love~~ delivers his
favor war-tail speech.

Aug,

8 Reports resolved from P. O
Committee

14 Announced that Annals
on Expeditions under War Dept
has prepared report on case
Taylor is pending,

Dec

11 Appends on exemplar of the
Post Office Post Board for Dec. 11

~~12 votes to recessed~~

23 Appends on a sheet containing
on the creation of a number
column and follows to
commemorate anniversaries
surrounding.

27 Calls for a discussion of a
motion respecting absence
Jc

Jan 8

gave notice for permission
to introduce school bill.

Jan 10

Reads amendment which he
proposes to make, on a bill
abolishing slavery in the Dist of
Columbia.

Jan 13 gave notice of a motion
for leave to introduce bill to
abolish slavery in Dist of Col.

Jan 29 Presents memorial of citizens
of Illinois praying for grant of public land

Feb 13 Presents for memorial of
citizens of Illinois for grant of land
to aid in construction of R. R.

Feb 28 Reports a Senate Bill
from the S. C. Committee.

Page 4

Early vms

at least 22 beds or passages (1-
passage & 21 thin)

Sales of part

"Chorophan down in water 1"

Early part in 1900

Bye 1900-1901

Sketch of part page 5

Producers by the

page 11 shows vms
which vms

red vms

